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A year of decision at missile talks



At least in the strategic sector 1983 will be a difficult year for East-West ties, the year in which we will see whether the West is serious about disarmament or missile modernisation.

Will Nato go ahead with its resolution either to negotiate a ban on intermediate nuclear forces in Europe or, failing agreement with the Soviet Union, to station Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe?

The initial situation seems fairly straightforward but it isn't, if only because both sides have dug in on positions that leave them with very little leeway for concessions and are, moreover, contradictory in many cases.

Thus Washington nd Moscow have done little more than wage tactical, trench warfare at the Geneva talks for the past six months or so.

The outlook for a decisive improvement in the new year is, sad to say, far from good.

At first glance the zero option proposed by President Reagan on being urged to do so by his European allies seemed most attractive.

If both sides were to dispense with medium-range missiles the Soviet Union would scrap its 245 SS-20s aimed

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targets in Western Europe while the West would not install the proposed 572 Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Europe.

But this would put the West to a twofold disadvantage. First, it disregards the alarming Soviet potential in conventional armament. Second, it leaves the West with virtually no reserve to fall back on.

In the medium-range missile sector the West has nothing to offer that can, as matters stand, in any way compare with the Soviet missile potential.

It was politically understandable perhaps, but strategically dubious, to look on the proposed 572 Western missiles as a numerical offset to the SS-20s.

They ought also to have been seen as a counterweight to Soviet superiority in conventional armament.

As a result, the impression gained by Western public opinion was that the zero option was the answer to the problem of European security.

It must also be borne in mind that as a result of technical hitches it could take longer to install the Pershing 2s and that doubts as to their strategic advantage have arisen in Washington.

So it will be seen that the West is strictly limited in the leeway for negotiations it has at its disposal in Geneva.

There are problems on the Soviet side too. Mr Andropov may have proved an astute and adroit politician but no-one can yet say how firmly he is in control of Soviet policy.

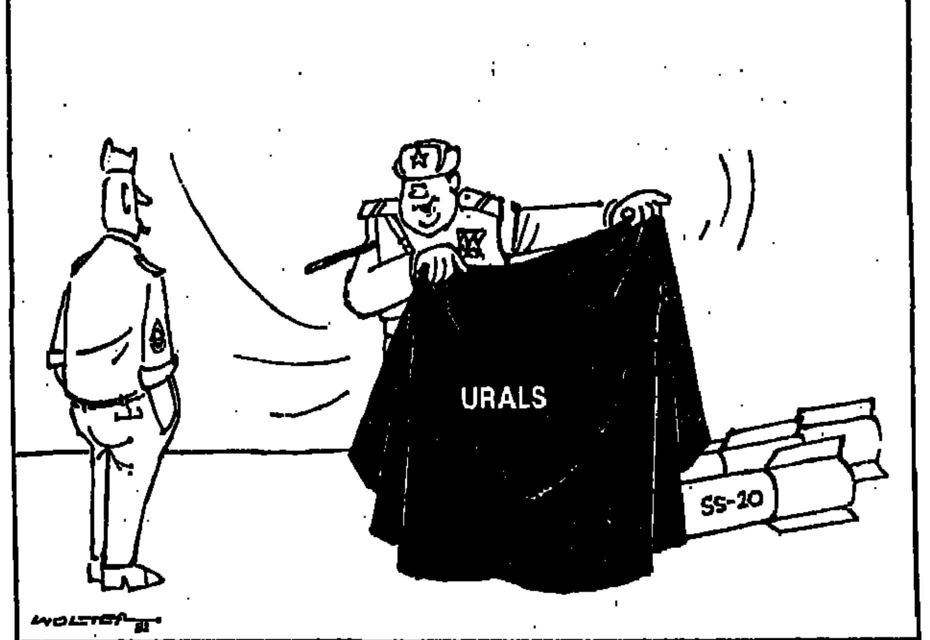
His latest offer of reducing the number of SS-20 systems installed in Europe to the 162 nuclear missiles maintained by Britain and France is a steep climbdown from the previous Soviet position.

It would not be wrong to infer that the Soviet Union is genuinely interested in preventing the stationing of Pershing 2s in Europe.

From the Soviet point of view Nato's missile modernisation plans are merely part of the current US bid to regain nuclear superiority.

Nato is to be linked even more strongly with the United States, while the Per-

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'Now you see 'em, now you don't!'

(Cartoon: Wolter/Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

President Carstens calls a March general election

Bonn President Karl Carstens made it clear in his TV address that a decision to dissolve the Bundestag and hold fresh elections was by no means the matter of course some Christian Democrats had said it was.

In defence of his rights as head of state he said he had arrived at his decision after due consideration of political and constitutional aspects.

He would not have ruled in favour of a March general election, he said, if a political minority's rights had thereby been violated.

So we must accept his decision as a personal one and not as the mere implementation of a coalition agreement or honouring of a pledge given by others.

Credibility was the crucial factor in the context of the vote of no-confidence in *Chancellor Kohl that triggered the* entire constitutional procedure.

With three weeks in which to arrive at a decision Prseident Carstens had taken his time and asked all concerned whether they still wanted fresh elections.

He accepted what they said at face value. any other approach would have been arbitrary. He accepted what the parties said just as he accepted the vote of no-confidence as a political fact.

He said a constitutional amendment to allow the Bundestag to dissolve itself would be preferable to the current options.

It had been ruled out this time but there was no reason why it should not be taken up at a later date.

The men who drafted Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, made mid-term elections difficult because they were afraid they might lead to political instability. *This fear had been proved unfounded.*

A constitutional admendment would rule out any accusations or parliamentary manipulation, accusations that had been made this time, although he was convinced he had disproved them.

What would have happened if he had refused to dissolve the Bundestag? A government would have been obliged to stay in power after having officially forfeited the Bundestag's confidence.

The government would have either been unable to govern or have had to go back on its word, which would have made it incredible.

Fresh elections were the only way to ensure stability and confidence, although it was not up to the head of state to relieve political parties of the risks they ran.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 January 1983)

Mr Andropov says Warsaw Pact wants to negotiate

A recurring feature of Soviet assessments of the international situation is the accusation that America is to blame for a dangerous escalation of the risk of war.

Whether this assessment is right or wrong is of less importance than the fact that the Soviet leaders are convinced only US policy is a threat to peace.

This means that the Kremlin refuses to see the true extent of its own contribution toward an escalation that has indeed assumed alarming proportions.

The new Soviet leader, Yuri Andropov, has chosen to keep to this line taken by his predecessor, Mr Brezhnev, but is dialectically more footsure than the latter.

Mr Andropov has taken care not to exaggerate US military power to such an extent that a Soviet audience is bound to feel worried stiff.

He demonstrated this ability in masterly fashion in his speech to mark the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union.

It was a speech in which he combined flexibility and intransigence and impressively advocated the historical legitimacy of the Soviet claim to world power status.

Some of what he had to say in Moscow on 21 December is repeated in the political declaration issued at the Warsaw Pact summit in Prague.

Other parts of his speech seem to be regarded as part of the Soviet prerogative, so no-one needs to endorse them in any case.

But the Prague declaration also includes new or newly-formulated features, such as the admission that acute global problems have arisen.

These problems, which are socio-eco-

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Time for Nato countries to stop fence-sitting

Missile modernisation has held pride of place in the security debate for three years, and rightly so, since in the final analysis what is at stake is America's continued nuclear guarantee of Europe's security.

But this issue has all but made people forget another problem that is no less important. It is the destabilisation of South-West Asia and the oil region.

Ever since the Red Army invaded Afghanistan, making the problem acute, the part played by European Nato countries has been largely determined by fear of the consequences and by the resulting refusal to cooperate.

This refusal largely accounted for how the issue was discussed in public, whether European warships might, if need be, be deployed outside Nato's immediate sphere of interest or European armed forces might take over roles usually played by US forces needed elsewhere.

The problem was seen not only to overtax the political realism of the general public. Governments likewise refused to live up to what the United States expected of its allies.

They refused to make a joint review of changes in the international situation and failed to do justice to a new concept jointly drawn up with the United States.

The repercussions are known facts. The Americans acted without their partners, moving militarily by setting up the rapid deployment force.

They realigned their command sectors in such a way as to ensure that the entire region, from Egypt and the Horn of Africa in the west to Afghanistan in the east, was under a newly-established supreme command.

Was this an adequate response in political terms? Was it in keeping with European interests? Maybe, maybe not.

America's European allies are certainly in no position to criticise it. They refused to have anything to do with framing a convincing response.

They have since been bound to admit that they cannot escape the repercussions of the problems they have chosen to ignore, as the communique of last December's Nato summit showed.

In it, the Nato states acknowledged that developments outside the pact's geographical confines might affect vital interests of member-states.

They agreed to bear fully in mind the repercussions of such developments on the security and defence capability of the alliance.

Mention was made of the provision of facilities to support the deployment needed in these areas to heighten the deterrent effect.

This was seen as a significant contribution toward safeguarding the alliance and strongly recommended to member-countries.

Reference was also made to the need for stepping up coordinated planning, while Nato Ministers noted that the pact was to review the consequences for the alliance of US plans to set up a rapid deployment force.

Washington's right to arrive at national decisions of its own was reaffirmed, although consultations with its allies were recommended.

These cautious turns of phrase testify to a sobering reality. The review referred to is a catalogue of demands made of America's allies in connection with requirements arising from deployment of the rapid deployment force.

They include landing and overflight rights, the provision of fuel and of 92,000 men in logistical support, not to mention taking over maritime tasks to ease the burden on the US Navy.

This is an issue that could well be dealt with at the next Nato summit, with predictable public reactions: protest, criticism and refusal.

Yet the extra burdens are of minor importance when compared with the political changes it all entails.

It is the first time demands have been made of member-states and contributions expected without the countries that make them being allowed the right to reach the political decision on whether or not facilities are used.

This affects Nato's character as an alliance of equal partners with the sole purpose of protecting its members from external attack.

Unanimous agreement must be reached in the Nato Council on a situation having arisen in which the alliance is required to honour its defence commitments.

The decision thus rests solely with each individual government, since all must be agreed on the need to come to a member's assistance.

The new arrangement envisaged would relativise this sovereign right.

It provides for support for America in looking after common interests outside Nato territory, but other Nato members are not entitled to share in decisions that could plunge them into alliance commitments.

This is all the more important as the Americans feel there is a more serious risk of a clash with the Russians in the Middle East than in Nato territory.

This cannot leave European governments in particular unmoved, although they are least entitled to level accusations at Washington in connection with the development.

They have only themselves to blame. The alarming state of affairs is a result of their refusal to play a part in drawing up a more satisfactory response to destabilisation in the region, brought about by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Islamic revolution in Iran.

It is almost impossible to make good this failure after the event, but an attempt must nonetheless be undertaken.

Karl Feldmeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 January 1983)



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nomic, demographic and ecological in nature, can only be solved by cooperation on the part of the entire international community.

The appeal to the Nato states to end the current dangerous phase in international relations and revert to cooperation and, basically, detente is more clearly expressed than in previous verbal bids to salvage detente.

Proposals to curb the arms race have assumed inflationary proportions. In part they merely reiterate past attempts to set up peace zones or nuclear-free zones in one area or another.

The superficial nature of such bids ought not to stop one from considering whether the overall tenor of the Prague declaration indicates that the East bloc is ready to talk and to reach understanding.

The opposite could equally well be the case, but even a sceptical appraisal admits the cautious conclusion that the Soviet Union and its allies are interested in curbing confrontation with the Nato states.

This seems to be the case even though Moscow and its allies show little or no sign of willingness to consider greater flexibility on issues such as the invasion of Afghanistan and repression in Poland that prompted the deterioration in East-West ties in the first place.

There are grounds for assuming that talks may be resumed with some prospect of success, and this optimism may even extend, up to a point, to the negotiations between Russia and America in Geneva on medium- and long-range nuclear weapons.

The Prague declaration has added a newcomer to the disarmament proposals: the withdrawal of all medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons from Europe.

This, it says, is a bona fide zero option, unlike President Reagan's proposal, which envisaged only the withdrawal of medium-range missiles and an undertaking not to station them in Europe.

Denuclearisation of Europe, it will immediately be argued, would serve only to emphasise the East bloc's superiority in conventional armament.

The antidote would be costly: reinforcement of conventional forces by the West. Or might the Gordian knot be severed in Vienna, where the two sides have marked time for nearly 10 years at the MBFR troop cut talks?

The Warsaw Pact's offer of a treaty renouncing the use of force between members of the Warsaw Pact and Nato is one that has been made in the past.

But the arguments now put forward indicate that more is envisaged than in similar undertakings and earlier agreements, such as the UN Charter and the 1970 Moscow Treaty.

The treaty now proposed is intended as an instrument of arms control and limitation, and maybe even as a means of graduating the alliance commitments of individual pact member-countries, which could be of importance in the event of a clash in Germany.

As in the case of Mr Andropov's December 1982 medium-range missile limitation proposal, the Prague declaration will not allow dust to settle over the debate on whether or not means of ending the arms race might be found.

The debate will intensify as the deadline for a decision on missile modernisation by the West comes closer. It is sure to play a crucial role in the German general election campaign.

Popular fear of catastrophe can no longer be dispelled by mere bromides. The East bloc's proposals may well have been made with this in mind.

But that is no reason for not giving them a thorough check. The Warsaw Pact is keen to negotiate, and this time its offer does not include an element of threat.

Josef Riedmüller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 January 1983)

Hans-Joche[n] Vogel in Washingto[n]

There is almost a time-honou[red tra]dition of German politician[s with] ambitions in Bonn first paying th[eir re]spects in Washington.

To this extent Hans-Jochen [Vogel], Social Democratic candidate for [Chan]cellor in the current German [election] campaign, is following in others' [foot]steps.

It is not even a bad idea, giv[en the] advantage to be gained from giv[ing the] Federal Republic of Germany's [major] ally with a clearer idea of the ma[n who] may be the next Bonn Chancellor.

At the same time the candid[ate can] find out for himself how the Am[ericans] feel about crucial issues.

Herr Vogel's position is muc[h the] same as Chancellor Kohl's was wh[en he] was Opposition leader in Bonn. N[either] have much experience in foreign a[ffairs].

Chancellor Kohl used to str[ess in] Washington how keenly commit[ted he] was to close partnership with the [Unit]ed States. Herr Vogel clearly feel[s it] is a matter of course that doesn't [bear] constantly repeating.

He is not disposed to embra[ce the] Americans as it were, but he is o[n their] side. He also has questions to as[k, not] critical, challenging queries but [...] enquiries.

Before relaying the answers and [reach]ing judgment he waits to see wh[ether] further comments are forthcomin[g that] might add to his picture of the [situa]tion.

On the one hand he is busy le[arning] the ropes. On the other he has a p[oliti]cal instinct and the caution of a tr[ained] lawyer that make him stop sho[rt of] fencing himself in by committing [him]self prematurely. He is keen to kee[p his] options open.

Washington was impressed, h[aving] been curious and a little mistrustf[ul, al]though less of Herr Vogel himself [than] of view current in his Social Dem[ocra]tic Party.

Hans-Jochen Vogel created the [im]pression of being a serious man, a[...] who chooses his words yet is in no[...] dubious.

So the US media, which tend to [con]centrate on home affairs, soon rel[...] and were happy to interview the [Sha]dow Chancellor.

Whoever wins at the polls in Ma[rch], Herr Vogel has earned respect and [gain]ed access to US leaders, which ca[n only] but be of benefit to him, to his p[arty] and to the Federal Republic of Ge[rma]ny.

Dietrich Möll[er]

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 8 January [1983])

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■ GENERAL ELECTION

Voters must decide in a year of major issues

[T]he March general election could prove fateful for the Federal Repub[lic o]f Germany in more ways than one.

[I]t could mark a triumph for Helmut [Ko]hl and the Christian Democratic par[tie]s should they win the absolute majo[rit]y.

It could confirm the FDP's course of [act]ion if the Free Democrats poll the [five] per cent needed for parliamentary [re]presentation.

That would not only impart new im[pul]ses to political liberalism but also [ena]ble the party to remain in govern[men]t together with the CDU/CSU.

By the same token, election day could [tur]n into a Black Sunday for the Free [D]emocrats should they be catapulted [ou]t of parliament altogether.

Polling day could turn into a political [sen]sation of the first order if, against all [ex]pectations, the SPD managed to poll [an] absolute majority.

[B]ut the election could also spell di[sas]ter if neither the SPD nor the Chris[tia]n Democrats managed to form a coa[liti]on government because the place of [the] FDP in the Bundestag was taken by [the] Greens.

[I]f this were to happen, the country [wou]ld become ungovernable for some [tim]e and the Greens would have achiev[ed] their objective.

[T]he only way out in such a case [wou]ld be a Grand Coalition of Chris[tian] and Social Democrats, a contingen[cy s]ome short-sighted politicians are al[rea]dy flirting with. But new elections [wou]ld be infinitely preferable.

[H]ow did the situation look on the [day] the President gave the go-ahead for elections?

"We want new elections — now!" [tru]mpeted the SPD last October when [th]e Kohl-Genscher government took [ove]r.

"We also want new elections, but not [unti]l March 1983," cried the CDU and [the] Free Democrats. Franz-Josef Strauss and his CSU, on the other hand, went along with the SPD, calling for immediate elections.

In an article for the *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt* of 3 December, Freiburg political scientist Wilhelm Hennis likened the procedure for the dissolution of the Bundestag to a coup d'etat.

Bonn constitutional lawyer Klaus Schlaich had this to say in a daily newspaper: "We want to go to the polls, say all Bundestag parties, along with the Chancellor. The sentence is worth pondering.

"The parties, Cabinet members and the Chancellor would have us believe that they want to hold elections. But what they really want is to be elected.

"In fact, their saying 'We want to go to the polls' does not take the voter into account."

Josef Isensee, professor of administrative law in Bonn, even goes so far as to claim that Helmut Kohl permitted himself to be duped by his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt. This may or may not be so.

All that can be proved is that Helmut Kohl was guided by the political maxim that "Where there's a political will there's a political way, and a legal one at that."

Kohl did not hesitate to take that way, and no political party, not even the opposition SPD, made any move to dissuade him.

In fact, the SPD has become a captive of its own slogan "We want new elections — now!"

The Chancellor has from the very beginning brushed aside all warnings that his approach could smack of a manipulation of the Constitution or indeed a violation of its letter and spirit.

He spoke of "democratic dynamism" and the fact that the Constitution's Article 68 opened the road to new elections, the only road he could take considering that the Constitution does not provide for a self-dissolution of parliament.

The President (a constitutional lawyer by profession) adopted the Chancellor's line of argument, not because this was politically opportune but because he considered it right and democratic to put everything before the ultimate sovereign, the electorate.

By giving the go-ahead for new elections, the President found a common denominator for constitutionality, democracy and a political declaration of intent.

Notwithstanding the heavy load put on the President, he acquitted himself with dignity regarding both his person and his office.

What mattered to him was certainly not to please the Bundestag but to arrive at a responsible interpretation of the Constitution, and putting the matter before the people seemed the obvious solution.

By seeking a vote of confidence from the people, Kohl wants to get away from political patchwork. When assuming office, he did so for a strictly limited time.

There are those who will interpret this as political naiveté. After all, the budgetary decisions Kohl made in his first couple of months in office entailed financial sacrifices for the citizen and the last thing the public wants to hear is a plea to tighten its belt.

But then, this can also be interpreted as respect for the voter's intelligence. The months to come will be marked by severe disputes on foreign and domestic policy.

They will include the Nato decision on intermediate-range missiles in this country and the fight against unemployment and recession.

All are issues that call for a government that carries the authority of a mandate from the people.

Helmut Kohl wants to be a Chancellor with courage and the nation's confidence.

Democracy regenerates itself through change, and the SPD-FDP government having shown signs of wear and tear it was only natural that a new government should have taken over last October.

But Kohl and his campaigners should drop their "legacy" slogan as soon as possible and replace it by political concepts and vistas.

In fact, the middle and lower echelon of campaigners could well do with a bit more verve.

Everything is still wide open as of this moment, though it can already be said that those MPs who want to take the dissolution of the Bundestag to the Constitutional Court stand no chance.

The ball is now in the people's court.

Alois Rummel

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 January 1983)

FDP first off the mark in Stuttgart

[P]lagued by nostalgia for the good old days, the FDP nevertheless [wen]t onto the offensive at its traditional [Epi]phany congress in Stuttgart.

[T]he Liberals managed to poll more [tha]n ten per cent of the vote at the last [gen]eral election in October 1980. That [was] at least to some extent due to the [part]y's anti-Strauss campaign.

[Alt]hough the party will again cam[paig]n along similar lines, this has lost [muc]h of its effectiveness due to the [FDP]'s coalition in Bonn with the [CD]U/CSU and hence with Strauss.

The party's new chief ideologist, Ralf [Dah]rendorf, had the same misgivings [whe]n he tried to convince his party at [the] congress that a rejuvenation cure as [an] opposition party could well be what [the] FDP needs.

[Jü]rgen Morlok, the party's Baden-[Wür]ttemberg chairman, said that the [FD]P was still the same old party, and [its] attacks on Strauss seemed to bear [this] out.

A familiar campaigning device was [the] FDP's ploy to recommend itself as [the] Chancellor's protector, whoever the [Chan]cellor might be at the time.

[T]wo years ago, the Liberals said that [with]out them Chancellor Schmidt [wou]ld become a political football for SPD left-wingers.

Now the junior coalition partner of[fers] its services to CDU Chancellor [Hel]mut Kohl as a protector from a "[Su]per-Chancellor" Strauss.

[It]'s David against Goliath, though [the]re is no sign of the sling with which [the g]iant is to be felled.

Germany must become neither too [bla]ck (the colour usually associated with conservatives) nor too red. And to prevent the country from becoming too top-heavy on either side, the FDP intends to remain open to both sides.

This is an old FDP tenet that served the Liberals well while in government with the Social Democrats when they used the possibility of switching partners to exert pressure.

But can the FDP now still choose partners? Its market value has certainly dwindled due to the manner in which it made the switch and probably also because the switch came too late.

In any event, any new alliance with the SPD is out of the question at present.

Morlok went out of his way in Stuttgart to goad CSU leader Franz-Josef Strauss. Even Helmut Kohl, who has bent over backwards to permit the Liberals to polish up their image before the elections and who has shown the patience of a saint in doing so, could not leave these attacks unopposed.

In any event, all the things Strauss has had to swallow now will be repaid with a vengeance should the FDP manage to return to the Bonn coalition fold.

Morlok, who backed his party's shift in Bonn, gloatingly pointed to the trophies the FDP has totted up in its fight against Strauss.

They date back to 1962 when it was the FDP that toppled Strauss, who was a Bonn Minister at the time.

In what can only be called an unusual move for a coalition partner, he accused Strauss of contempt of parliament and democratic institutions.

He also demanded that the FDP take over the Interior Ministry again only to have Dahrendorf tell the congress later that this would be wrong.

On such issues as protection against data abuse, aliens policy, judicial matters and disarmament, the FDP is still far to the left of the conservatives. It now hopes that this will prompt the voters to opt for the party's survival.

Ralf Dahrendorf evidently wanted to prove in his address that he is an "original thinker."

He startled the delegates by saying that the decisive date for the party is not the next election but the one after that. Going over party leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher's head, Dahrendorf seems to be looking to a distant future when the Free Democrats will have unburdened themselves of the odium of betrayal and a 13-year Social and Free Democratic coalition.

But this is not exactly a sure-fire recipe with which to win the March elections.

Dahrendorf's recommendation that the party assume an opposition role for the moment sounded as if he regarded the votes to be cast for his party in March as fit only for the wastepaper basket.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 5 January 1983)

Year of decision

Continued from page 1

shings are to be used to knock out the entire Soviet missile stockpile and command and observation posts in a first strike.

The Pershings would be in the air for a mere four to six minutes, as against half an hour for ICBMs, so the Soviet Union would stand little chance of firing its own missiles in time.

So fron the Soviet viewpoint Nato's missile modernisation plan appears much more dangerous thanis generally assumed in the West.

The Soviet Union may have only itself to blame for prompting this Western reaction to its own arms build-up, but Moscow is unlikely to see it that way.

What matters is that the Kremlin is interested in achieving results in Geneva. How far is Mr Andropov willing and able to go?

The Soviet position is by no means as flexible as is sometimes assumed. This is shown by the expectations Moscow has of the Geneva talks.

The Russians would like to negotiate on all missiles stationed in and around Europe (and not just land-based systems).

They would like to include British and French missiles in the negotiations. They ascribe to Western systems much better ratings than Nato is prepared to admit to.

So the respective starting points are still far apart and the gap between what East and West consider feasible and desirable still seems unbridgeable.

One wonders whether it might not be too wide for terms to be negotiated unless the framework of negotiations were extended.

Kurt Gasteyger

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 January 1983)

■ BERLIN

Alternative Liste slowly comes to terms with party politics in city council

Hannoversche Allgemeine

As the tug-of-war among would-be candidates over nominations for the Bundestag elections on 6 March gathers momentum in the constituencies, Berlin's *Alternative Liste* (a group of leftist, anti-nuke environmentalists) is having a hard time finding a candidate for a safe seat in Bonn.

Due to Four-Power reservations, Berlin's Bundestag members are not voted in by direct elections but by the Berlin city council.

The number of seats each party gets in the Bundestag depends on the party strength in the city council.

The reason for the dilly-dallying of Berlin's *Alternative Liste* (AL) is the uncertainty as to whether the national Green/AL movement will manage to capture the minimum five per cent of the popular vote needed for representation in the Bundestag.

But there are also other points on which Berlin's AL differs from established parties. Its nine legislators in Berlin keep only a net DM1,800 of their DM5,000 gross monthly pay. The rest goes into the movement's coffers.

There was some confusion not too long ago when the AL used DM110,000 due to its council group towards election expenses to send parcels to Poland. The AL argued at the time that it did not need this government grant and wanted to use it to some good purpose.

This is how the AL came to learn that it is anything but easy to escape state largesse. The speaker of the council demanded that the money be repaid to the state because it had been improperly used.

The speaker's demand was later backed by a court ruling to the effect that state money may not be used for anything but the intended purpose even if the beneficiary does not need the money for that purpose.

This is only one of the many lessons the AL has had to learn since May 1981 when it cornered 7.2 per cent of the vote and moved into the Berlin council as its third-strongest party.

After a few unorthodox "happenings" in the initial stages, mainly to satisfy the movement's (mostly young) followers, the AL buckled down to some serious legislative work.

Thanks to good sources of information in the city administration and support by various citizens' action groups, the AL put forward more motions than any other group despite its numerical weakness.

As it settled down, the AL departed from its original intention of putting up what it called fundamental opposition and even voted along with the CDU on one issue: to prevent a doubling of the dog licence.

Generally, however, the AL has felt more akin to the Social Democrats and has voted accordingly.

Together with the SPD, it opposed the raising of fees for creches and the loosening up on rent control.

Social Democrats and the AL have also joined forces in favour of a peaceful solution of the squatters issue.

On two occasions, the AL put forward no-confidence motions against Heinrich Lummer (CDU), the city's senator of the interior and a hard-liner on the squatters issue.

Violence in connection with demonstrations is mainly where the Social Democrats and the AL don't see eye-to-eye.

Although most of the 90,000 Berliners who voted for the AL in 1981 reject violence, the movement has a hard time arriving at a definite position on the issue.

Pro-violence activists have repeatedly succeeded in torpedoing a clear anti-violence stand.

After the riots in connection with President Reagan's visit to Berlin last June an AL work group initially agreed to stress the necessity of non-violence when calling for demonstrations to "prevent escalation into full-scale rioting."

But this was watered down only a few weeks ago when the AL said that resistance against state violence was justified.

Commented Berlin's left-wing daily *Tageszeitung*: "The AL doesn't hurl stones, it delegates that to others."

One of the movement's typical characteristics is the close ties its legislators maintain with the grass roots. AL members of the council are supposed to be replaced by others half-way through the legislative period to give as many members as possible a chance. Moreover, the AL uses extra-parliamentary means to influence parliamentary decisions.

Although the move is controversial within the Alternative grouping, all nine of its legislators are to vacate their seats by summer to make room for others.

Says AL Floor Leader Peter Sellin with some *Schadenfreude*: "This would put people like Dieter Kunzelmann in the council, a militant who could put the cat among the pigeons."

Theoretically, Al members of the council should only vote after a grass roots decision on any given issue. But this has proved impractical due to pressure of work, and the AL legislators have had to make their decisions within their caucus, only to be accused of having become alienated from the rank and file.

In the finance committee even the most dyed-in-the-wool Alternatives have come to realise that you have to cut your coat according to your cloth and that many a citizen's wish therefore has to remain unfulfilled.

But this sort of pragmatism is still underdeveloped at grass roots level.

AL members of the council have always tried to escape their dilemma on expenditure by calling for more state borrowing and heavier taxation for business and high earners.

But all attempts to find a middle-of-the-road approach between fiscal requirements and the often naive rank-and-file demands have done little to alleviate the mistrust of the grass roots in their chosen legislators.

These conflicts were brought into the open at a recent AL meeting [...] came to debating a motion ca[...] close cooperation with the [...] movement of the Greens.

While the motion rallied [...] votes to be adopted, the AL E[...] Committee resigned in protest [...] it opposed anything that smack[...] established party and the decisi[...]ing processes that go with it.

By trying to please everybody [...] is essentially stripping itself of [...] effectiveness.

Some of the realists among [...] leaders are now trying to abo[...] ineffectual grass roots democra[...]vour of decision making [...] through elected representatives.

The idea is to protect the AL [...] the council from constant cri[...] sulting from the fact that the r[...] file is uninformed on the issues.

The AL councillors are co[...] that this will at last enable them [...] equivocally reject violence.

Erns[...]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 Dec[...])

West Berlin prepares to nam[e] its Bonn Bundestag MPs

Mannheimer MORGEN

Former Berlin Mayor Dietrich Stobbe, 42, who resigned over a property scandal in early 1981 and has since been heading the New York office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, is due back in Berlin any day now.

He would like to be nominated one of the nine Bundestag delegates the SPD will send to Bonn after the 6 March national election.

Comments Stobbe: "I'm too young to gather dust in a mini-office."

His prospects of getting the nomination are slim, however, because he does not represent the Social Democrats in their new Opposition role in Berlin.

Berlin will send 22 MPs to the Bundestag. The number of seats allocated to the various Berlin parties depends on their last election results in the city.

In this case, 11 Bundestag seats go to the CDU, nine to the SPD and one each to the FDP and the *Alternative Liste* (AL). The Berlin Bundestag members are not elected by popular vote but are nominated by the parties and then elected by the city council.

The CDU seems to have no p[...] with its nominations, due to be [...] the state party congress on 15 Ja[...]

Most of the party's present [...]tag members are likely to re[...] Bonn, though there is one excep[...] MP who decided not to stand fo[...] nation due to his involvement i[...] fair that hit the headlines som[...] ago.

The SPD will nominate its Bu[...]didates at its 14 January state pa[...]gress. But here things are unlike[...] off as smoothly as with the C[...] cause such plum positions as a B[...]tag seat have been in short supp[...] the Social Democrats were voted [...] office in the 1981 Berlin elections.

Berlin's SPD ticket for the Bu[...] is headed by Opposition leader [...] Jochen Vogel, who is also the [...] candidate for Bonn Chancellor i[...] March general election.

Though his nomination is un[...]ed some SPD members consider i[...]lematic. They argue that, should [...] to win the Chancellorship and b[...] Opposition leader in Bonn, he [...] find himself with heavily [...]med voting rights (due to the cit[...]cial status).

Among those considered cer[...] return to Bonn are Egert, Löffle[...]tenberg and Diederich.

The remaining four places [...] hotly contested by the presen[...] Männing, Mitzscherlin and D[...] Luuk and the new candidates [...] Pfarr and Huhn and the two [...] friends, former Federal Senator [...]mann and former Senate D[...] Brickmeier.

Up to now, Berlin's SPD has h[...] left-wingers among its Bonn MPs [...] number could now rise to three, [...]sponding to the trend in the state [...]

Though the right wing is still s[...] stronger in Berlin, it certainly do[...] have a two-thirds majority.

Since being voted out of off[...] Berlin there has been a certain [...]chement between the two party [...] and the old left-right pattern no l[...] applies.

In fact, things have become [...] more unpredictable in Berlin's SP[...]

The AL will now for the first [...]

Continued on page 5

■ MEDIA

International Telecommunications Year must improve facilities, not controls

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The UN Year of the Disabled has been rung out and International Telecommunications Year rung in. The newcomer was proclaimed largely at Africa's request.

In 1978 Africa embarked on a Decade of Transport and Communications during which the infrastructure of both was to be improved.

At present telephone communications between many neighbouring African countries are possible only via London or Paris.

The same is true of a number of Latin American states that can only telephone with each other via New York.

Remote areas of developing countries can in many cases not be reached at all using modern telecommunications, the lack of which is largely to blame for rural depopulation and the creation of gigantic areas of urban sprawl.

International Telecommunications Year is to deal solely with the technical side of telecom, which is why the International Telecommunications Union, a UN special organisation, is to coordinate work.

Member-countries have been called on to set up national committees to think about and offer advice on programmes to improve telecommunications.

All programmes are to be selected, as far as possible, with regard to their feasibility for developing countries.

The national committees are also to hold seminars and symposiums and to disseminate general information.

But in an ITU fund-raising campaign a mere three million dollars has been raised so far, with the lion's share being contributed by the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Most Western European countries have limited themselves to pledging goods and services, such as advisory facilities. It is as though they were afraid cash would get into the wrong hands.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has set up the steering committee for International Telecommunications Year.

It consists of representatives of several Ministries, especially the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Economic Cooperation, and of the telecommunications industry.

The steering committee has met three times so far.

The Economic Cooperation Ministry is to hold a seminar on Telecom Networks in Rural Areas and to take part in a survey on the extension of the African telecom network.

The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has set up several teams of experts who are ready at short notice to be sent off on missions to developing countries.

The Foreign Office has called on Bonn's diplomatic and consular missions abroad to step up their foreign trade promotion in the communications technology sector.

The telecommunications industry has launched several pilot projects in connection with International Telecommunications Year.

One is a solar-powered radio emergency call system designed for use in remote areas where there is no mains electricity supply. Pilot projects are also envisaged for small solar-powered directional radio facilities.

The industry will also be holding seminars in developing countries on progress in teleprinter technology and data transmission so as to give them access to the international flow of data.

Even amateur radio enthusiasts in the Federal Republic of Germany are to participate in International Telecommunications Year with a seminar in Tanzania.

President Carstens has agreed to be patron of the large-scale West German exhibit at Telecom 83 in Geneva, which is likewise being held with International Telecommunications Year in mind.

Everyone who is seriously interested in the project is keen to ensure that activities are strictly limited to improvements in technological aspects of telecommunications.

Any attempt at ideological alienation of the telecommunications year would jeopardise any benefit the developing countries in particular stood to gain.

The danger arises in connection with bids to hitch it to the bandwaggon of the New International Information Order.

This is a plan by the communist countries and authoritarian and totalitarian regimes in the Third World to regulate and restrict the free flow of information and opinion.

It is a free flow of which they disapprove, and the communist-run International Organisation of Journalists had this to say in its magazine *The Democratic Journalist*, which is published in Prague:

"Communications issues must not be regarded merely as matters of the existence of technical means, In the course of the Year it must be pointed out that the social consequences of communications are determined by their content.

"The imperialist countries and the international monopolies want to use the Year for their ends: to bring other parts of the world under their control.

"That is why progressive forces in the entire world must see Telecommunications Year as an opportunity of making a breakthrough for the New International Information Order."

This shows that disputes may well arise in connection with International Telecommunications Year, and those who are seriously interested in progress in communications, especially in the developing countries, must be prepared.

But in these countries themselves an increasingly large number of people seem to realise that technical improvements in their telecommunications infrastructure are the right way to set about a slow but steady improvement in the serious shortcomings of their telecom facilities.

Ernst-Otto Maetzke

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 December 1982)

Continued from page 4

[...]nd one of its people to the Bundestag, [...]ough nobody knows who this will be.

There was some talk that it could be [th]e former Baader-Meinhof lawyer Otto [S]chily. But after he distanced himself [fr]om the use of violence as a political [in]strument his place seems to have been [ta]ken by Christoph Ströbele, another [B]aader-Meinhof lawyer.

Ströbele is at present answering char[g]es of having supported imprisoned [m]embers of the terrorist Red Army Fac[ti]on and of having helped develop and [o]perate an information system for the [gr]oup.

The only FDP candidate for the [B]onn Bundestag mandate is undisput[e]d. He is the deputy floor leader in Ber[li]n, Günter Hoppe, who has been a [B]undestag member since 1973.

He does, however, have one challen[g]er: Wolfgang Lüder, deputy mayor in [th]e Stobbe Senate and former state [c]hairman of the Berlin FDP.

Liselotte Müller

(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 January 1983)

Unesco plans to gag the Press

Communists and the non-aligned are surprisingly unanimous in their view of the Press and the free flow of information around the world.

They both regard what crosses borders via the teleprinter purely and simply as intellectual colonialism.

At international gatherings for which Unesco is responsible the two sides have been at daggers drawn for years, although there have been few practical consequences so far.

The role of the aggressor has been assumed by the majority bloc of Afro-Asian and Latin American developing countries, aided and abetted by the communist East bloc.

They all complain that news facilities in the Third World are monopolised and manipulated by the West.

Western industrialised countries that in reality have every reason to be proud of the freedom of information and opinion they and virtually they alone practise unwittingly find themselves in the dock.

It is nonsense for the countries that have a free Press to be bombarded with criticism by those who often hamper the free flow of information in their own countries by means of censorship and bans.

But a quick look at the statistics is enough to explain the situation. More than 80 per cent of the material circulated in the international news market is supplied by the four leading agencies.

They are AP and UPI, of the United States, Reuter's, of Britain, and Agence France Presse.

These four have the most extensive network of correspondents spanning the globe. Reuter's, the largest, is represented in over 160 countries.

Even Germany's Deutsche Presse-Agentur is a mere also-ran in comparison with this range and size. Most developing countries are not even in the running.

One can well understand Brazil and Chile being aggrieved at learning about events in neighbouring Peru only via Washington or London.

It seems reasonable to assume that in the selection of news by people alien to the regional culture events in Latin America will be seen through North American, British or French eyes.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America readers and listeners are doubtless much more interested in the North-South dialogue and the fight against poverty and hunger than in tension between Moscow and Washington or Nato's missile modernisation resolution.

A majority of UN countries feel that the major news agencies have much too little to say and too limited coverage of poverty and hunger in the Third World.

So the call for a New International Information Order that has been endorsed by several Unesco conferences would be entirely warranted were it not for a dangerous drawback.

It is that freedom of information is a sine qua non of human rights and a functioning democracy and that information only flows freely where human rights are observed and democracy is practised.

In the overwhelming majority of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries these prerequisites do not exist, or if they do so, then only with strict limitations. The concept of journalistic freedom is usually linked to the call for journalistic responsibility.

This fine formula usually means that any criticism of governments or the ruling political party runs counter to the interests of society and state and is thus irresponsible.

Bids to set up transnational news agencies for the Third World have promptly been ensnarled in the dissemination of government communiques.

For all these reasons the Western industrialised countries, who are virtually on their own in having experience of a free Press, are opposed to the comprehensive demands tabled at Unesco conferences.

They take a dim view of calls for an International Information Order but are regularly outvoted and find themselves in a position where all they can do is refuse to play ball.

Yet they are well aware of the imbalance in coverage of the Third World and are trying to set matters right by development and training.

The Federal Republic of Germany has invested DM800m in what are usually bilateral programmes over the past 20 years. At the last Unesco conference in Paris a mere $1.9m was approved toward news agencies in the Third World.

This sum did not include a German cash contribution. In the majority of Western industrialised countries the free and better-balanced flow of news and opinion is felt to be well worth encouraging.

But they have no intention of pandering to government interests via the fine-sounding programme of an International Information Order.

Reinhart Häcker

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 December 1982)

■ VIEWPOINT

How to reconcile economy and ecology, unemployment and limits to growth

Frankfurt economist Professor Werner Meissner is one of many pundits to suggest ways out of economic stalemate. He calls for growth, but not at any price, and for work-sharing, at lower pay if need be.

Political economics as a science began in 1776 with the publication of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations.*

The first sentence tells us that the annual labours of a nation are the fund that provide the nation with all of life's needs and comforts required within that year.

In a nutshell, this means that work creates affluence and growth. But the impression today is that this realisation has been reversed to read "growth creates work."

As a result, the pundits argue, unemployment must be overcome through growth.

To illustrate the magnitude of the problem, projections for 1983 assume 2.35 million jobless as an annual average with zero growth.

Population growth will throw an annual average 150,000 to 200,000 people on the labour market over the next eight years. This makes for a bleak scenario even should growth rates be healthy.

Assuming average annual economic growth of two to 2.5 per cent and balanced outflow and influx of foreign workers, labour market researchers say there will be three to four million jobs too few.

Even that depends on two major factors: the development of productivity and of working hours, both per week and throughout working life.

There is every likelihood that productivity in 1982 will have been about two per cent and thus well below the rise of previous years.

The question now is whether the use of microelectronics and further administrative rationalisation will bring about a new steep rise in productivity.

Or will the low figure for 1982 simply be a symptom of a global productivity drop as in the USA, where productivity has been hovering around zero for years?

The current scenario assumes a sustained productivity rise of two per cent. And even should working times be slashed, this projection does not figure on a noticeable change in the trend.

For more than 25 years, the average annual cutback in working times has amounted to about one per cent a year, slowing down in the past few years.

The question now is: Can growth avert disaster on the labour market? In purely arithmetical terms, we would need a real growth rate of about six per cent, sustained until 1990, to achieve full employment.

But this is considered utopian from today's vantage point.

Moreover, economic history shows that the economic miracle kind of growth rates in the post-war era were atypical.

Right now, there is in fact nothing to indicate that the growth rate assumed by the scenario for the Federal Republic of Germany will come about of its own accord. Realities such as they are in Germany today indicate zero growth instead.

Maybe we should look at it this way. The lack of economic growth could well provide the opportunity to lick the second major problem (after unemployment): the environmental crisis. Does lower growth provide better conditions for the environment?

This is the theory propounded by the advocates of zero growth. The first report to the Club of Rome (1972) calling for limits to growth to preserve the environment has unintentionally been heeded.

It can only be termed ironic that shortly after the report entitled "Limits to Growth" was published, in a period of sustained growth, zero growth materialised in most Western countries — not as a result of clever policies but due to the oil price explosion and market forces.

After a brief upswing, growth rates are again down to zero. And since the rise in the output of goods and energy has declined, and with it consumption, the strain imposed on the environment has also diminished.

Yet conditions for a sound environmental policy have deteriorated. America's deregulation shows that ecological objectives must soon yield to booster measures for the economy, at the expense of the environment, when business flags.

The truth is that environmental protection is not the only objective. Raising the standard of living and safeguarding jobs are equally important political aims.

What we need is not zero growth but growth that is at the same time easy on the environment. In other words: more affluence coupled with a relative (or



even absolute) reduction in the use of materials and energy and lower costs in the health and environment sectors.

But how is such a high quality growth that is easy on the environment to be achieved?

Three concepts have been put forward. They can be summed up as alternative movement, post-industrial society and change of industrial production.

One of the central themes of the ecological alternative movement is the attempt to achieve a better life on less. But such an experiment can apply to a relatively small segment of the public only.

Alternative life styles are irrelevant for the majority of the people because they cannot replace employment by work for their own account.

Only very small groups, mostly in the country, have the necessary wherewithal (land, buildings, capability) with which to satisfy their own needs.

People in metropolitan areas are excluded from such schemes in the first place. They have no choice but to satisfy their needs in the "industrial" way.

The actual innovative impulse emanating from the alternative movement lies in the social sector, i.e. the testing of new forms of communal living and working.

Social innovation gains in importance as the available leisure time grows along with the demand for personal services that usually use up less raw materials and energy than the production and consumption of material goods and are thus easier on the environment.

The division of labour in providing such services (education, culture, health) between the business community, the state and private households could well change.

The more of these services, their organisation and financing we expect to be provided by the state the greater will be the fiscal problems and the greater the bureaucracy.

A shift of personal services back to the private sector (and this is where the experimental and innovative impulse of the alternative movement comes into its own) must not be confused with the frequent demand for a re-privatisation of state functions, i.e. subjecting such services to the forces of the market.

The market is irrelevant here inasmuch as what matters is to remove certain services from state bureaucracy, bypassing the market, into a private non-monetary sphere.

The provision of services in this way would amount to growth without strain on the environment and without any financial and organisational overtaxing of the state.

But apart from this alternative look-after-your-own-needs society there is also another and older concept of a post-industrial economy and way of life.

The great hope for the 20th century, according to the concept propounded by J. Fourastié, was the vision of a technologically highly developed and materially sated service society (D. Bell).

In it there would be a relative shrinkage of the industrial sector in favour of the so-called tertiary service sector in highly developed economies.

It is reasonable to expect that an expanding service industry will impose less strain on the environment. And in fact the present growth pattern of highly developed economies largely corresponds to this idea.

Does this give rise to environmental optimism? Does it mean that the modest producer, the ploughboy who caters to his needs in a non-monetary do-it-yourself society, and the merry consumer, the playboy in a market-oriented service society, are clasping hands in a bid to bring about an economic system that is kind on the environment? Scepticism is called for.

We know now that the expansion of the service industry (and with it employment opportunities in that branch of industry) is being retarded by a rationalisation wave in important sectors, a wave that is only just beginning.

Experts anticipate that the introduction of new means of communication (for instance, data transmission via the TV screen) will lead to a cutback in the banks' branch offices.

But even services that householders obtain on the market and that are not as easy to rationalise should be viewed with more caution regarding their growth potential.

The reason is simple: Private households now frequently have more ma[chi]nery than artisans used to have.

In 1978 Gershuni maintained (... substantiated for Britain) that pr[ivate] households in industrial countries [pro]duce ever more consumer goods [and] even services with the help of their machinery, i.e. capital goods.

These capital goods in private h[ouse]holds have led to the emergence [of a] do-it-yourself service industry tha[t has] put the brakes on the growth of th[e ter]tiary sector and boosted the man[ufac]turing industry through the purcha[se of] these capital goods.

The qualitative growth impulses [...] expected from the alternative m[ove]ment and the development of a pos[t-in]dustrial society will prove insufficie[nt].

The hope for a change of indus[trial] structures and hence relief for the [envi]ronment, be it through alternative [...] ing to one's own needs or thr[ough] capital-intensive do-it-yourself pro[duc]tion, is not very viable.

Qualitative growth must gain [the] upper hand within the basic proces[s of] industrial production and it is here [that] it must be promoted through econ[omic] measures. But where is growth to c[ome] from?

The stagnation in the industrial w[orld] shows that traditional growth-indu[cing] instruments hold little promise of [suc]cess now.

Flagging private consumption, [the] need to save energy and the nee[d to] safeguard and improve living conditi[ons] point to a shift in demand patterns [and] hence in growth potentials.

It is possible that new technolo[gy] will lead to new products and so b[oost] private demand.

Interestingly, the four areas w[here] the latest Prognos report sees gr[owth] potentials concern products and pro[ces]ses that are promising in terms of [raw] materials savings and the environme[nt].

Growth potentials also exist in a[reas] that have to do with a more pronou[nced] articulation of needs that can only p[ar]tially be obtained from the market such as a sound environment.

Where the market cannot sa[tisfy] these demands, the state has to step [in].

Investment in these growth a[reas] must be financed or at least promo[ted] from public funds. There is no n[eed] here to wait for demand to be cre[ated] through new products. Society's ne[eds] in this sector are self-evident:

- Energy-saving measures
- Development of new sources [of] energy and raw materials
- Development of piped heat[ing] grids
- Urban renewal and improveme[nt] of urban quality of life
- Public sector metropolitan a[nd] commuter transport.

This is a wide field for private inve[st]ment. Where market forces fail to pr[o]vide the necessary investment ince[nt]ives, the public sector has to step in w[ith] government funds.

It is better to finance growth and i[n]vestment in these sectors than to fi[n]ance unemployment.

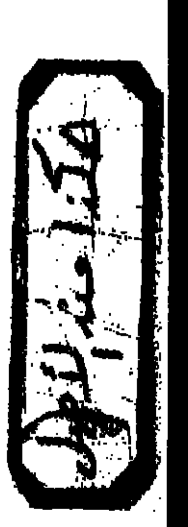
There is thus no shortage of opport[u]nities to increase affluence and grow[th] while reducing the strain on the env[i]ronment.

The stock of millions of jobless w[ill] remain in the next few years notwi[th]standing market processes and grow[th] policies.

Growth alone cannot solve the unem[]ployment problem unless it is couple[d] with shorter working times.

Working times in this country ha[ve] been shortened continuously, thou[gh]

Continued on page 8



THIRD WORLD

Warnke says new-look aid policy is an honest offer of cooperation

Bonn's development aid policy is being redrafted to serve not only [the] recipient country's but also the [do]nor's interests by promoting the sale [o]f West German goods in the Third [W]orld.

The move has now come under fire [fr]om the Opposition, which claims that [w]hile in government it was guided sole[ly] by the needs of the developing coun[tr]ies.

Uwe Holtz, the Social Democratic [ch]airman of the Bundestag Committee [o]n Economic Cooperation, even went [s]o far as to accuse the Kohl government [of] acting in the interests of Nato and of [p]utting such "reform-oriented coun[tr]ies" as Zimbabwe and Nicaragua at a [d]isadvantage.

This has prompted Development Aid [M]inister Jürgen Warnke to elaborate on [hi]s Ministry's stance on development [ai]d.

He described Bonn's development [a]id policy as an honest offer of coope[ra]tion with the Third World, saying that [th]e interests of both parties must be [ta]ken into account.

He stressed that development aid [c]annot be a unilateral gift to Third [W]orld countries except where essential [ai]d for the poorest of developing na[ti]ons is concerned.

What mattered, he said, was to engage in a dialogue to find out what the recipients' needs were and to arrange aid accordingly.

He stressed that it was legitimate to take the needs of German industry into account, especially in view of mounting unemployment and the more than 100,000 jobs directly dependent on development aid.

Considering Germany's dependence on exports, it is important to ensure that at least some of the aid provided is used to buy German goods, the Minister said.

The volume of aid, he elaborated, will remain roughly unchanged in 1983. Moreover, commitments entered into by the previous SPD-FDP government will be met.

But there will be a rollback on new commitments because commitments made in previous years have narrowed the scope for new ones.

He said that the DM4.7bn worth of commitments in 1982 had to be reduced to an unticipated DM3.4bn in 1983.

The Ministry's 1983 budget will essentially remain unchanged against 1982.

The Kohl government, Warnke said, aims at a development aid target of 0.7 per cent of GNP, the present ratio being 0.45 per cent.

This puts the Federal Republic of Germany roughly in the middle of 15 nations providing development aid.

The scale ranges from Holland's 1.08 per cent to Italy's 0.19 per cent. France now provides the 0.7 per cent targeted by Germany.

Deputy CDU floor leader Volker Rühe recently said that the Kohl government's development aid policy must be used as an instrument in safeguarding peace.

He said that every effort must be made to mediate in reconciling the differences in countries now torn by civil war.

Referring to Central America, he commented that Bonn would be ill-advised to trigger a debate over American interests in the Caribbean.

Herr Warnke said about his objectives that what mattered was to lend support to genuine non-alignment trends in the Third World; he did not favour so-called Cuban models.

He takes it for granted that Germany must increasingly take into account in its development aid policy that it is, after all, a member of Nato.

The difficulty of pursuing such a course was evidenced by the discussion over aid for Turkey. Here, is it necessary to reconcile two factors, the criticism levelled at an ally who violates human rights and the recognition of the same country's value as an ally.

The distribution of development aid in 1983 (in absolute amounts) will favour such countries as Egypt, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, the Sudan and Turkey, if for no other reason than because of their population.

More than one-third of German aid goes into fighting absolute poverty while a quarter goes into rural development.

Other areas include reforestation, education, vocational training and the promotion of artisan industries. Private initiative and help towards self-help are to be particularly promoted.

Here is how Volker Rühe described the general course of the new development policy:

"Instead of closing all doors out of indignation about violations of human rights, we must encourage all measures that will lead to more democracy and more human rights even in cases where our expectations have been dashed."

Only those who want an economic and political order that runs counter to the principles laid down in the UN Charter can argue against such a concept.

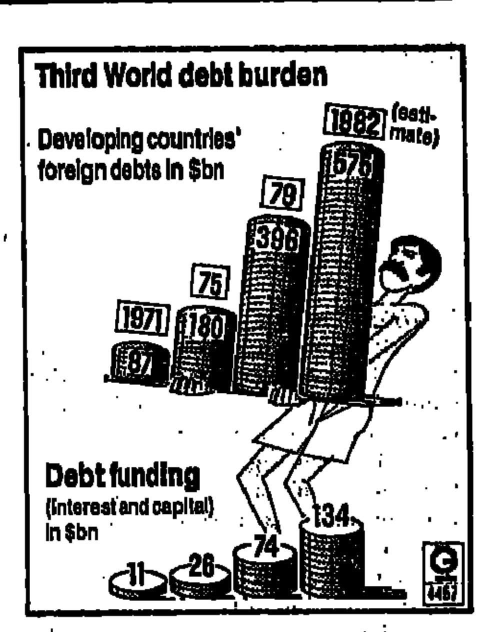
SPD Chairman Willy Brandt, who is also the chairman of the North-South Commission, would certainly not want to have this principle changed to coincide with the concept put forward in the UN by the Soviet Bloc and Third World nations that are experimenting with communism.

The views of Third World countries differ widely from those of the West, especially where raw materials are concerned.

Willy Brandt is due to meet Jürgen Warnke in the course of January to discuss the effects of the East-West conflict on North-South relations.

Gerd Ressing

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 31 December 1982)



Brandt backs bid to avert bank crash

Frankfurter Rundschau

The indebtedness of some large Third World countries could plunge the international finance system into a crisis similar to that of the 1930s, says Willy Brandt, the chairman of the North-South Commission.

The disaster these countries are headed for could well lead to a disaster in the Western banking system.

Here, the destinies of the rich and those of the poor countries are inseparably linked, Brandt told the latest meeting in Bonn of the North-South Commission.

He called for swift action on behalf of the poor countries, not only for their sakes but for the sake of the industrial world as well.

Measures adopted by Western Finance Ministers are not enough and the danger of a considerable finance gap that cannot be closed by the money markets remains, he said.

The North-South Commission has therefore called for additional measures to be implemented right away, among them more Special Drawing Rights at the IMF for particularly heavily indebted Third World nations.

The Commission also called for a 100 per cent increase of IMF quotas to boost the Fund's resources. Moreover, the Commission suggests that public sector loans to the poorest of developing countries be converted into outright gifts.

The overall Third World debt is estimated at $600bn. About half the creditors are private banks.

Brandt pointed to Mexico as an acute example of an overextended country where a major hole was plugged from one day to the next. As he put it, the bigger the borrower the greater the creditors' interest in him.

He repeatedly praised Donald Regan, the US Secretary of the Treasury, saying that he had put forward proposals similar to those of the North-South Commission.

Brandt refused to come up with a definitive view on the development aid policy of the Kohl government, saying that he had not yet "looked into it in detail."

Horst Schreitter-Schwarzenfeld

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 December 1982)

■ EUROPE

Bonn reassures EEC on European priorities

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has intensified efforts to dispel fears among other EEC countries that Germany is losing interest in European integration.

He has ensured fellow-members of the European Community that Bonn continues to regard economic and political integration as a key priority target.

After talks with senior officials of the European Commission in Brussels he said Germany would do all it could as chairman of the Council of Ministers in the first half of 1983 to make headway on integration.

Yet other EEC countries have their doubts, fuelled mainly by the 6 March German general election.

With a general election in the middle of Bonn's chairmanship at the EEC some Bonn government representatives might, it is feared, spend more time campaigning at home than concentrating on Common Market issues.

The possibility cannot be ruled out, especially as the men at the helm of several crucial Ministries in Bonn are Free Democrats for whom the general election means either political survival or oblivion.

These key Ministries from the EEC point of view are Foreign Affairs (Herr Genscher), Agriculture (Josef Ertl) and Economic Affairs (Otto Lambsdorff).

If the Free Democrats were to be wiped out in Bonn at the polls on 6 March there would definitely be repercussions for the European Community.

The EEC, 26 this year, is in a critical state. When Belgium took over the chair at the beginning of 1982, to be followed in July by Denmark, unemployment in the EEC countries had just topped 10 million.

This year the number out of work is 11.7 million, which means that one member of the Common Market's work force in 10 is unemployed.

Understandably, Bonn says fighting unemployment, especially unemployment among the young (who make up between 30 and 50 per cent of the jobless, depending on the country), must be given priority during its term in the EEC chair.

But prospects of a reduction in the number out of work are anything but rosy.

There have been numerous declarations of intent lately, both by the Council of Ministers and at the three EEC summits, the last of which was held at the beginning of December in Copenhagen.

But fine words have failed so far to have any effect, and actions have yet to follow.

Economic forecasts for the EEC 10 in 1983 have been marked, if anything, by scepticism and pessimism. There are no signs yet of substantial economic growth.

The only reasonable prospects are in respect of inflation, which in 1982 averaged a little over 11 per cent in the Common Market countries.

This year, after a year in which inflation ranged from 5.3 per cent in Germany to 21 per cent in Greece, the EEC Commission hopes inflation may be reduced to an average of nine per cent.

The different economic situations and outlooks in the various EEC countries are sure to create any number of difficulties in 1983, as in the past.

Fresh unrest seems in the offing in the European Monetary System (EMS), for instance, with the French franc looking a likely candidate for further devaluation.

Yet last year's exchange rate realignments within the EMS were seen by monetary experts as a sign of the system's viability and as proof that it was capable of functioning.

Realignments took place in February and June 1982, with the Belgian and Luxembourg francs and the Danish krone, then the French and the Italian lira being devalued and the German mark and the Dutch guilder being revalued.

The opening months of the new year will feature a rerun of the annual farm price review. It remains to be seen whether Bonn will succeed in persuading the 10 to reach agreement on farm price guarantees by the 1 April deadline.

April is the beginning of the new agricultural year and the EEC Commission has submitted farm price review proposals envisaging increases averaging a mere 4.4 per cent.

As last year, there is a risk of the decision being snarled up by linkage with Britain's demand for special terms to ease the burden on British taxpayers as net paymasters of the Common Market.

Last year this linkage led to a sensational development in May, when the farm price review was agreed by a majority decision, and not unanimously as in the past.

But hopes that the Luxembourg compromise would be scrapped once and for all were premature.

After General de Gaulle had boycotted the EEC it was agreed at Luxembourg in 1965/66 that decisions would be reached unanimously even though the Treaty of Rome provided for majority decisions in most cases.

Insistence on unanimity has since been fraught with problems, but a return to majority decisions has proved difficult. Bonn hopes to make headway on this front by means of the Genscher-Colombo Plan.

Here too it remains to be seen whether the German-Italian plan for European Union will progress in the new year. Enthusiasm among EEC countries is subdued.

But the European Parliament is keen on progress, especially progress toward greater powers of its own in the EEC.

Problems in the EEC's domestic market are sure to enjoy priority during Bonn's term in the chair too.

They will include the clash with France over protectionism, not to mention relations with the United States, Japan, the East bloc and Latin America.

Months of serious dispute with Washington over the Siberian gas pipeline contract and EEC steel exports to America may have been settled by compromise arrangements in October and November 1982.

But transatlantic ties remain scarred. The EEC and the US now want to solve the dispute over the European Community's Common Agricultural Policy by the end of March.

This is a tall order given Washington's complaints about the billions the EEC ploughs into export subsidies for farm produce.

It is as tough a problem as resolving the EEC's dispute with Japan, and since the renewal of Common Market economic sanctions against Moscow relations with the East bloc have been strained too.

The European Community, in common with the Americans and the other Western industrialised countries, intends to draw up in time for the next Western economic summit in May the details of a new economic and trading concept toward the East bloc, especially the Soviet Union.

The repercussions of economic sanctions imposed on Argentina last April in response to British pressure as a joint EEC response to the Falklands crisis still impose a burden on Common Market efforts to establish a fresh relationship of trust with Latin America.

Bonn's Development Aid Minister Jürgen Warnke has already made it clear that development policy as a whole it subject to financial restrictions.

So on this front too the European Community cannot be expected to make much headway.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Der Tagesspiegel, 1 January 1983)



Continued from page 6

the development has been uneven. Thus, for instance, the step towards a 40-hour week was taken relatively quickly in the 1950s.

Now the impetus seems to be flagging and the move towards shorter working times through collective bargaining has come to a standstill.

This is partly due to a range of taboos and partly to economic reasons.

In the past cutbacks in working times essentially amounted to dividing the progress in productivity between higher wages and more leisure.

What matters today is to divide working times in a manner that will provide relief on the labour market, and this change has its consequences.

If increased productivity with zero growth is wholly or partially used to shorten working times instead of raising wages in real terms, the effect on the labour market will be nil. All this might achieve is to stop unemployment from growing still further.

If shorter working times under these conditions are to provide relief on the labour market they must go hand in hand with a pay reduction. Work and pay must be divided between those who now hold jobs and those who are entering the work process.

The cutbacks in pay need not be dramatic — especially if positive growth rates ease the conflict.

Moreover, these cutbacks would be introduced at a comfortable level of affluence with public sector and private needs largely already satisfied.

It is important to bear this in mind for the sake of clarity on the issue of shorter working times and adjusted pay.

Unemployment and the environmental crisis are priority issues. Zero growth cannot be a suitable programme; and growth at any price is no alternative.

We are gradually coming to realise what a high price we might have to pay for our natural environment and living conditions in it.

Qualitative growth and shorter working times could reconcile economy and ecology.

Werner Meissner

(Die Zeit, 7 January 1983)

Self-effacin masters of negotiation

Japanese politicians are past m of the art of diplomacy. While ricans and Europeans were up i over accusations of protectionism Gatt conference in Geneva the J ese delegation might have been under the desk.

Japan's foreign trade policy avoided being discussed as a ference issue.

There has since been a change vernment in Tokyo and the new are now out to reconnoitre the in tional terrain.

It is no coincidence that the member of the new Japanese Cab visit Europe is Foreign Minister S ro Abe, a high-grade economic ex

It is not just a matter of real trade policies; stopovers in Br London, Paris, Bonn and Rome s yield findings in plenty about th rious facets of European policy.

So Prime Minister Yasuhiro Na ne will face the US government briefed on his first visit to the U States.

Preparations have run perfectly fore the tour the news was leaked on time in Tokyo, unofficially an thout confirmation, of course, th Japanese Cabinet was planning t view over 37 laws, import regul and safety provisions.

Tokyo announced in December from April 1983 tariffs on 40 agri ral products and 28 industrial i were to be reduced.

Imports of oranges and beef, shington's constant grouses in this nection, were quietly overlooked were several other points.

One was that for a number of import tariffs are less the problem tax burdens which put imports to d vantage.

Another was that legal safeguards the small shopkeeper and other d tend to have the same effect. This fact only those who know from e rience will know.

After the Japanese visit Brussels made a note that 24 January is to b firm Japan deadline, the day on w the Commission is to brief the Co of Ministers on the next steps to tak

In December the Council of M ters decided to speed up a Gatt A 24 complaint against Japan for fa to throw its market open to imports

The EEC Commission has been structed to call on Japan to exe "effective and clearly-def restraint" in exports to the Com Market.

Shamefaced care is taken to a using the term self-restraint.

Since 1981 a statistical check been maintained on imports of cars sets and cathode ray tubes and num cally controlled machine tools f Japan.

This check has been extended to clude delivery vans and video recor while anti-dumping proceedings h been launched against Japanese ma facturers using the video 2000 system

Ranks are thus being serried, b experience is any guide the Japan negotiators will again bow so de that they succeed in gaining entry EEC markets despite a drastic incr in thresholds.

Gerd Jansst

(Handelsblatt, 4 January 19

NEW IDEAS

Munich bureau helps inventors and companies to get together

In 1973, during the first oil crisis, German inventors by the score seemed to their sights on the age-old dream of ining the secret of perpetual motion.

A few years later, with energy still arce, a strikingly large number of inentors seemed keen on devising newok hydroelectric turbines.

Inventors, says the Patent Research Unit, Munich, follow definite fashions. e latest trend, for instance, is ideas in onnection with the energy-saving car.

"Trend-followers," says the unit's ans-Karl von Engel, "we could well o without."

His organisation helps inventors and iversity research scientists to market eir ideas, and "companies are just not terested in investing in trendy ideas."

Werner Munk, from Vogt, near Raensburg, is a man who had a more proising idea. Foodstuffs manufacturers re always on the lookout for new eas, and his could help to use some of e EEC's mountain of stockpiled buter.

Using a special deep-freeze dehydraon technique, he has invented tasty ghurt crisps that are both ideal as a snack and healthy too.

The Munich organisation invested rd cash (DM100,000) in Munk's idea, lped him to patent it and is helping im to find licensees.

His slimline TV snack has been atented in Europe, the United States d Japan and a company in southern rmany that trades in dairy products s launched it, after encouraging mar research, in the German market.

It is a market with an annual turnover f DM1.5bn, so Munk looks like maka the inventor's dream come true and rketing his idea.

But there is more to commercial sucss than just a good idea. "Even an imroved version of the Wankel rotary ene would get nowhere nowadays," ys Herr von Engel.

Converting a bright idea into cash at e bank is easier said than done; only o and a half per cent ever find a comercial licensee.

Since 1955 the Munich unit has ndled more than 15,000 inventions d helped inventors to negotiate terms th industrial customers in over 400 ses.

Between 40 and 50 per cent of ideas bmitted are rejected straight away be cause they are felt to be no-hopers in mmercial terms.

After further scrutiny between 10 and per cent of the inventions remain d are backed by the unit, which is the ly division of the Fraunhofer Reearch Association to be fund by both e Bonn Research Ministry and the *änder.*

A crucial aspect is, for instance, wheher an idea can be patented. As a rule dustrial users who buy ideas from inentors attach great importance to ghts to the ideas in which they invest.

So the first move is to check existing atents and make sure a similar invenon has not already been patented mewhere else.

The inventor is also well-advised to e fully conversant with the requisite now-how so as to be able to come up ith the best means of industrial exploiation.

The more he can contribute toward commercial utilisation of his idea, the less expensive it will be for the company that buys the rights to merchandise them.

Inventors stand the best chance when they concentrate on sectors where there is a brisk demand for new ideas, such as foodstuffs and fodder, leisure activities, hobbies, do-it-yourself and entertainment electronics.

Promising sectors of technology are currently felt to include the therapeutic side of medical technology, laser measurement techniques and electronic picture evaluation.

Herr von Engel and his team readily own up to the ones that got away. None of them ever imagined Rubik's cube would be such a hit.

If it had been submitted to them for consideration they would have backed it, but views would be sure to have differed on whether it would come up trumps.

In the cube's case there was no doubt from the start that a major prerequisite would be met; manufacturers were keen to produce it.

In many instances companies may show interest in a new idea but prefer not to invest in it as a licensee because it happens not to fit into their product line.

The Munich unit is not always as lucky as it was a year ago in finding a customer for a new idea in semiconductors. In the quest for licensees it hit on a French firm that was on the point of converting production to a similar component of its own.

The French soon realised that the new idea from Germany was better than their own, so they snapped it up. Demand is so heavy that turnover is sure to be in the millions for years to come.

The inventor can be sure of earning substantial profits. Had he come up with his idea a year later the French company would have turned it down.

In some cases Herr von Engel and his associates don't need to look for industrial customers; they call him in Munich.

There can be no doubt that inventors have a seller's market when the economy is down in the dumps, and right now inventors have never had it so good.

Companies that consult the organisation come in two rough categories. The first shows regular interest in what inventors come up with in their field; the second only comes knocking when sales plummet and they are deep in the red.

Where the second group are concerned it's very much knock on wood. Yet over the past two years two companies have been lucky enough to come along at a time when suitable innovations were on file waiting for an industrial customer.

They snapped them up and started manufacturing the new idea. Both companies were up against it and are now back in the pink.

The Munich unit doesn't provide its services free of charge. If they result in terms being agreed and profits made the capital must be refunded and a fee is charged that can amount to up to 20 per cent of the inventor's net earnings.

"We earn the 20 per cent by negotiating licence terms alone," says Herr von Engel. It's a fair claim. He and his staff have the know-how.

About 100 times a year they negotiate with the well-versed licence and patent departments of industrial companies, and they have more staying power than an individual inventor.

With the Fraunhofer Association behind them they have both the know-how and the financial clout. So a potential customer insists on patent rights being applied for in the United States and Japan? Sure thing, no problem.

On his own the inventor might be tempted to settle for unfavourable terms. In the final analysis it is not really in the manufacturer's interest to rook the inventor.

Companies wouldn't do business with inventors if it weren't profitable, and inventors are best motivated by the hope of capitalising on their ideas.

The Munich unit lends financial backing to many more new ideas than ever earn money, yet for every deutschemark it invests in risk capital successful inventors earn three marks in licence feels.

So the organisation meets part of its expenses from revenue. In 1982 the revenue met DM300,000 of expenditure totaling DM1.5m.

One inventor in three approaches the Munich bureau, Herr von Engel estimates. There are about 1,000 applications a year, including 150 inventions by staff of universities and research institutes.

A year ago a branch office was set up in Hanover, with financial backing from Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, to help inventors in northern Germany.

Franz Frisch

(Die Zeit, 7 January 1983)

More risks need to be run

The Germans, once renowned as a nation of poets and thinkers, are running a serious risk of declining to the status of intellectual paupers.

The risk is less serious in the arts than in sectors that help to ensure a country's survival as an industrialised nation.

It is a risk glaringly apparent when a closer look is taken at recent industrial history.

In many sectors of technology the Federal Republic of Germany is trailing behind its main competitors Japan and the United States.

Microelectronics is only one instance, albeit the one in which Germany's lag in research and development is most strikingly evident.

Japan used to be accused of merely copying others. This is a accusation that can nowadays be levelled at many manufacturers in Germany. The chicken has come home to roost.

Some say this ground lost is not due to a decline in intellectual capacity. Potential for innovation is there for the asking, they say.

What it lacks, the argument runs, is risk capital, cash to enable ideas to be put into practice.

What use are good ideas when they cannot be put to use because there is not enough financial staying power to see them through from the drawing board to the production line?

New ideas nowadays are not dreamt up in the study by a starry-eyed scientist. They come to light in costly laboratories, and commercial exploitation calls for a generous helping of capital investment.

This is where the problem lies. For a start, only large firms are usually in a position to get a look-in at Bonn government R & D allocations.

They run entire departments capable of handling the kilograms of paperwork. A small firm, no matter how bright its ideas may be, will tend to lose its way in the undergrowth of bureaucracy.

If it lasts the distance (and it's a big "if"), it will only get a government grant after long and nerve-racking skirmishes with the machinery of red tape.

Small wonder that companies which have been through this excruciating experience prefer to call it a day! The result is that many a promising development never gets off the ground for lack of capital.

Often enough, other sources of capital fail to deliver the goods. The banks have been generous to a fault in their international commitments lately, but they tend to be miserly when it comes to funding relatively small loans to help a bright idea to make a breakthrough.

If there is no collateral available, banks tend to go through the motions and decide against the risk.

Yet smaller companies are often in a better position to ut new ideas to good use fast than large firms with their cumbersome decision-making processes.

So German firms often cast an envious glance at countries where the spirit of adventure is still alive and well. In the United States, for instance, there are venture capital funds to fill the bill.

Their aim is to fund projects that seem likely to prove worthwhile, and to provide financial backing regardless whether the company is large or small.

There are examples galore. Take Silicon Valley, California, the home of electronics, where well-known companies such as Amdahl, Wang and Apple were only able to get going because private investors were prepared to risk backing their ideas.

There is a similar facility in Germany, at least in name. It is the Gesellschaft für Wagnisfinanzierung, or Risk Finance Co., of Frankfurt, which is run by the major banks.

Management consultant Roland Berger says it is a misnomer. The company finances anything but risks, as is apparent from the questions in its application forms.

They include queries such as "What successes can you lay claim to?" and "What securities can you offer?"

Gene Amdahl, once an IBM engineer, would not have got much joy out of the Frankfurt company if he had approached them before going it alone after many of his ideas failed to make headway at IBM.

There is nothing in Germany to compare, for instance, with the Dow Chemicals practice of inveting an annual $10m in risk capital.

This cash is invested in a wide range

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■ ENVIRONMENT

Rhine pollution is under control, chemist says

Mountains of detergent foam at locks and on the banks of the Rhine are a thing of the past, industrial chemists claim.

Gone are the days of detergent foam scandals, says the Chemical Industry Association in a brochure entitled 'Chemicals and the Environment.'

The days of this particularly upsetting form of pollution are said to have been numbered by the change-over to detergents that were over 80-per-cent biodegradable.

It can thus be dealt with, for the most part, by biological sewage treatment.

Success in water purification seems to be widespread. Dr. Karl-Geert Malle of BASF, the Ludwigshafen chemicals company, says there is no longer any serious reason for not swimming in the Rhine.

In comparison with other rivers of its kind, he said at a Ludwigshafen press conference, the Rhine and its water were extremely clean.

This view is largely substantiated by the bacteria count in the river water, which is low.

A further argument is supplied by the basic outlook scientists have on the problem of vestigial risk, an outlook he described as level-headed.

He put it at two per cent, which was a marginal risk that must be tolerated. He also concluded that Rhine pollution research was more scientific than a health safeguard.

Can the same inference be drawn for the entire issue of water purification and hydrological research?

The past, if it is any guide, shows according to the chemical industry's brochure that the quality of Rhine water has by and large improved since 1975.

The lower reaches of the Main are still a problem despite strenuous efforts by local authorities and industrial users. But purification measures by chemicals companies in the area will not be completed until the year after next.

Sewage and effluent treatment in this densely-populated area is particularly difficult because suitable locations for sewage plant are hard to find.

But the end is in sight. Over 70 per cent of local authority sewage is given full biological treatment. Technical problems are, however, nearer solution than scientific ones.

The classical problems such as oxygen count and salination can be largely handled. The Rhine's oxygen count is well over the danger level.

Humic substances, which are the principal vestigial pollutants, are likewise felt to be less of a problem. Physiologically, or so scientists say, they are not unduly alarming because they exist everywhere in nature.

It is another matter where individual compounds are concerned. Their structure in the river water has yet to be clarified.

Water may be a fairly uncomplicated medium, but trace analysis of individual compounds in a complicated mixture of substances has only lately been possible.

Dr Malle said many mistakes might still be made in chemical analysis in this context.

Well-known substances such as DDT and halogenated hydrocarbons still have to be characterised and identified in such circumstances.

He said the potential danger of individual compounds was fairly low and he assumed that new highly-active substances were unlikely to be discovered.

But the margin of analytical error and so-called vestigial risks remain a moot point.

There can be no doubt that this scientific problem assumes the proportion of a health issue in water treatment.

Individual compounds must be identified that are of genuine ecological, toxicological and technological importance so they can be systematically treated.

Astrid Forberger

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 January 1983)

Continued from page 9

of new ideas, and not just on the off-chance that one might prove a winner, as at the gaming table.

All ideas are carefully vetted, if not by the yardsticks normally used in Germany. Similar risk capital investments are made by the pension funds of major companies, which are part-managed by the trade unions.

This calls for an investment outlook entirely different from the attitude that prevails in Germany.

There is no lack of capital in Germany that might be invested in risk ventures, but Americans are prepared up to a point to run a risk, knowing that it might be a real money-spinner.

Germans are not. They have an overwhelming desire for security and tend to invest their savings in fixed-interest bonds and property.

Neither are designed to promote technological innovation and development, which is why critics feel it is high time we set up entirely new fund-raising channels.

They must steer a wide berth of the banks and aim at sectors where promising projects have to be called off for lack of relatively modest sums of money.

But the German investor's outlook is unlikely to encourage ideas of this kind.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 January 1983)



Levy plan to fight acid rain

Hesse plans a sulphur levy to fight the tree death epidemic. A Bill is to be tabled in the Bundesrat in the New Year and to come into force in 1985.

The levy will amount to DM2,000 per tonne of sulphur dioxide released into the atmosphere over a specified level by coal-fired power stations.

Sulphur dioxide from coal-fired power stations is felt to be a major factor in acid rainfall, the tree killer culprit, although by no means the only one.

The levy is intended to oblige coal-fired power stations with a capacity of over 50 megwatts to be equipped with the latest filtration devices.

There is no intention of forcing coal-fired power stations to shut down, but offenders may be required to cut back their production.

The aim is to arrive at a gradual conversion to the latest filtration techniques at outmoded coal-fired power stations.

The Bill expressly forbids power companies from passing on the higher production costs caused by the sulphur levy straight to the consumer via higher electricity prices.

Hesse feels its Bill is better suited to dealing with the acid rainfall menace than the Bonn government's new atmospheric pollution regulations, which are unlikely to have any tangible effect until the 1990s.

(Die Welt, 29 December 1982)

North Sea i[n] good shape

Autumn and winter storms m[ay be] feared by people who live [on the] North Sea coast but they are wha[t] stopped the North Sea from becom[ing a] dead sea, scientists say.

They pump oxygen into the water strata where sulphuretted h[ydro]gen, a substance hostile to life, le[ss] accumulate.

This claim is made in the 1981 of the German Hydrographical [Insti]tute, Hamburg, which has just published.

Areas even more seriously end[anger]ed than the North Sea include th[e] of Kiel and Lübeck, the Fehman[n] and the Bornholm trough in the B[altic].

In these areas the count of [phos]phates, nitrates, nitrites, ammoni[a and] other harmful substances in the have increased, while the oxygen has further declined.

An extremely high nutrient co[unt is] reported from the coastal waters of [the] German Bight, where the Elbe [and] Weser send 35 tonnes of phosp[hate] and 280 tonnes of nitrogen a da[y into] the sea.

In the summer months plankto[n out]put goes through the roof, while th[e de]composition of dead plankton us[es up] the oxygen, which cannot be rep[laced] fast enough, especially at g[reat] depths.

In shallower waters swell and th[e ... en]sure oxygen enrichment.

Heavy metals such as mercur[y and] halogenated hydrocarbons have [yet to] assume dangerous proportions, more of them are found in the G[erman] Bight, the Skagerrak and the K[attegat] than elsewhere in the North Sea an[d the] Baltic.

North Sea oil and gas fields hav[e evi]dently caused less pollution tha[n] feared along the German coast. [Pollu]tion in the Elbe and Weser estua[ries is] decidedly higher than in the vicin[ity of] oil rigs and platforms.

But the level of oil pollution ha[s] increased in relation to previous co[...]

It is higher in winter than in sum[mer], which scientists attribute to the e[vapo]ration rate being lower at lower te[mpe]ratures, with the result that ba[cteria] which consume oil waste are less a[ctive].

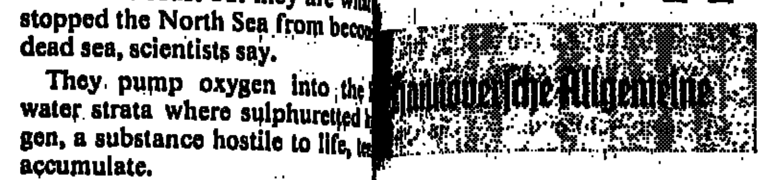
Hydrologists are unperturbed a[t ...] sent by radioactive trace elem[ents]. Since surface nuclear tests were b[anned] in 1962 there has no longer been [...]tion in rainfall.

Klaus M[...]

(Die Welt, 23 December [...])

■ THE ARTS

Dressage is the message at Wuppertal ballet



[E]ight thousand pink paper carna[t]ions lined the stage at the premiere [of] *Premiere*, Pina Bausch's latest ballet, [stag]ed to mark the 10th anniversary of [the] Wuppertal company.

[T]he paper flowers from Bangkok [we]re not in the best of taste, as most [peo]ple would now agree, but they [some]how were in keeping with the [...]

[*P*]*remiere* dealt with first love, and the [...] of flowers was a cynical play[gro]und and background against which [the] tales were told.

[M]embers of the company told the [...] of their own first loves, or premi[...], an experience undergone at the [age] of six or 14, depending on the indi[vid]ual.

It begins with the terror of childhood. [A w]oman cries heartbreakingly into the [mic]rophone that is held in front of her. [S]he recalls the little girl she once was, [pla]ying at the same time the part of the [...]erved mother who shouts at her [...] daughter, taking her to task.

[A] father and his son demonstrate [ho]w the natural desire for love is de[...]med and deprogrammed and how [em]otions are bent.

Despite having his ears constantly [...]ed the boy repeatedly throws him[self] into his father's arms.

[Ea]sed-out cliches such as "[Y]ou'll be the death of me" lay the [grou]ndwork for man-sized guilt feel[ings].

[T]rained Alsatian dogs are led on to [the] stage from left and right, and those [who] have not yet understood the mess[age] will know now at the latest what [Fra]u Bausch is trying to say.

[S]he is keen on unmasking untruthful [beh]aviour and sentimental emotions, [so] she sets traps for her audience.

[T]here are the pink carnations for the [...] and Lehár and 1930s-style, gush[ingl]y erotic Sophie Tucker songs for the [...] "Some time he'll come along, the [man] I love."

[H]ardly has one begun to feel at home [i]n this melody and to be swept along [by] it but fabulous Lutz Förster appears [in g]old-coloured cocktail garb.

[H]e makes short shrift of this appeal [to] the emotions by interpreting the ly[rics] in sign language for the deaf and [du]mb.

[J]an Minarik, a comedy star who must [be] unique, holds a microphone to the [dan]cers' bodies after they have finished [thei]r turns.

Amplified to an uncomfortable de[gree], we hear their heartbeats and, as [the] case may be, their tummy rumbles.

What is the matter with their hearts? [The]y are beating madly but the mecha[nic]al sound does not betray a trace of [em]otion.

[T]he loudspeaker plays an earsplitting[ly l]oud version of Schubert's *Lied* 'Der [Tod] und das Mädchen' (Death and the [Maiden]).

Nina Rick accompanies the song by [slic]ing onions with which the men wipe [the]ir faces, but not a tear do they shed.

Other premieres seen during *Premi[ere]* include Förster at his best, Big Top performances and pirouettes by Dominique Mercy.

The audience applauds on cue, realising that dressage is the message, with ballet denounced as an empty pose.

Things one would dearly like to continue believing in, ideals cherished for years are demolished.

In a childlike ring of roses made up of men in evening dress shy Dominique Mercy is indoctrinated by three other men.

He is told how he might behave if trouble looked like arising with another person. He must make a show of being sensitive or depressed, fetch others and so on.

After the interval the emphasis is on personal experience. The dancers tell their own tales, describing their secret longings and intimate secrets we normally, virtuously, keep to ourselves.

They stand at the footlights pouring from one plastic beaker to another a liquid that is definitely supposed to be urine.

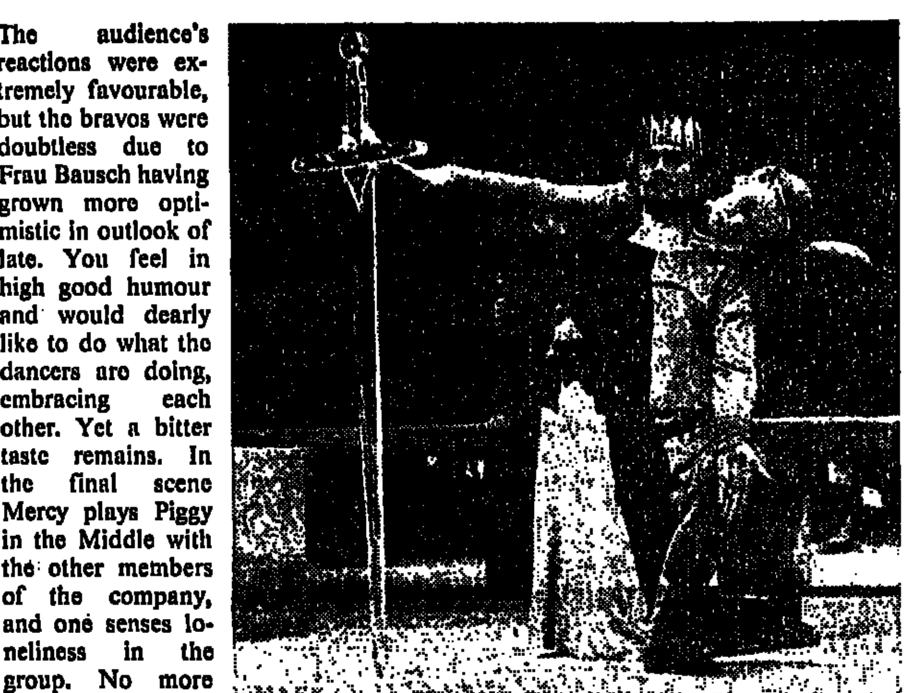
Everyone explains situations in which they are most urgently taken short. Sexual desires are laid bare in an intensely comical and decidedly obscene finger ballet.

An even more outrageous scene is the one in which dancers kneel on chairs, have their feet tickled and roar with laughter as they say the Lord's Prayer in their respective languages.

No-one in the audience seemed to have understood the point. Certainly, there were no protests.

The audience's reactions were extremely favourable, but the bravos were doubtless due to Frau Bausch having grown more optimistic in outlook of late. You feel in high good humour and would dearly like to do what the dancers are doing, embracing each other. Yet a bitter taste remains. In the final scene Mercy plays Piggy in the Middle with the other members of the company, and one senses loneliness in the group. No more

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François Klaus as Arthur and Colleen Scott as Guinevere (Photo: Peter Peitsch)

Clarinet clash

Herbert von Karajan is at odds with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra over who is to be appointed first solo clarinet alongside Karl Leister.

Karajan favours Sabine Meyer, 23, who is currently with the Bayerischer Rundfunk Symphony Orchestra in Munich.

He was most impressed when long blonde-haired Sabine was in Berlin for trials and would like to hire her immediately on a year's probation, which is the normal procedure.

But the Berlin orchestra, which has a contractual right to be consulted on the choice of new members, is against her: on strictly musical grounds, of course.

Cellist Rudolf Weinsheimer denies on the orchestra's behalf allegations that the Berlin Philharmonic has always been against the fair sex.

This is a longstanding accusation. Not until the orchestra's centenary year, in June 1982, was a woman appointed. She is Madeleine Carruzzo, a Swiss violinist aged 26 who is reported to be doing well during her probationary period.

Sabine Meyer need not abandon hope. Attempts to mediate between Karajan, the orchestra, general manager Peter Girth and West Berlin's science and arts senator Wilhelm Kewenig have failed.

But applicants for the job are to play again in January, and only then will the final decision be taken.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 31 December 1982)

Neumeier feels the call of the Grail in Hamburg

Never has a poet fully succeeded in dealing with the story of King Arthur, no matter how often the attempt may have been undertaken.

There are too many tales and they are too different and too well-told, like highly-polished jewels, to fit into a single poetic treatment.

John Neumeier, chief choreographer of the Hamburg Staatsoper ballet, has now embarked on his own quest for the Knights of the Round Table and the Holy Grail.

As was only to be expected, he lost his way in the undergrowth of imagery and at times forgot his target.

In literature detours may be permitted. In ballet they can be misleading, which will partly have accounted for catcalls when the curtain fell.

Initially is looked as though the pages of a chronicle were being turned over. A girl sits knitting, is swathed in a black cloth in which the devil materialises, and gives birth to Merlin.

People unfamiliar with the tale of King Arthur will already be in difficulty, and in the second prologue section matters are made easier only by the written explanation on the curtain.

The genealogy of the Celtic king and his kin is shown against a mediaeval musical background, but the illegitimate births of Arthur, Mordred and Galahad are details that could easily have been omitted.

The who's who comes to light naturally from the further course of events.

The visions in which Arthur presages encounters or events he is about to experience are likewise superfluous, in part because they are confusing.

It is difficult in body language to draw a clear distinction between these different levels of narrative.

The ballet then comes into its own to the music of Sibelius' romantic First Symphony. Amidst the chaos of warring tribes Arthur discovers Excalibur and becomes king.

Accompanied by Merlin, the magician with the gift of prophecy, he sets up the Round Table, whose knightly members pledge themselves to help the weak and those who seek assistance, especially women.

But this happiness is shortlived. The ideal life is upset by Arthur's relationship with his half-sister Morgan, a fairy, who gives birth to Mordred, who is later to murder his father.

Lancelot appears from the lake. Arthur and his queen, Guinevere, are captivated by him. Their three-cornered relationship seems perfect harmony.

But the first rifts soon appear. Lancelot leaves Arthur's court and meets Elaine, who is cast by Neumeier as the keeper of the Grail.

Their son is Galahad, the perfect knight and the man who is to find the Holy Grail in later life.

The Round Table is disbanded, the knights having felt the call of the Grail. But this is not always clear from the course of the ballet.

Motives are certainly unclear, and Neumeier's advice to enjoy rather than to try and understand is easier said than done.

Even so, the dancing is marvellous. In a Tristan and Isolde tale told between the first and second parts Ronald Dardon and Chantal Lefèvre star.

They lack the more experienced main parts' power of dramatic expression but have the advantage of being able to perform a complete section of ballet.

Hans Werner Henze's dramatic Tristan music appeals more directly to present-day listeners than Sibelius.

Tristan and Isolde in their way reflect the fate that befalls the love of Arthur and Guinevere; a fate we are shown in the second part of the ballet.

Lancelot has gone mad because his love of Guinevere has destroyed the old order of the Arthurian world and prevented him from seeing the Grail.

Mordred discovers the lovers. Arthur seeks refuge in war from the ruins of his life, kills his son Mordred and is fatally injured by him.

Three women take him to the isle of Avalon, from where he will return to his people in their darkest hour.

The travails of love and war are accompanied by the ups and downs, the flowing to and fro of the sea and the women members of the company, dressed in blue.

The forms and shapes they take are so harmonious and immediately comprehensible that they are among the most memorable parts of a ballet that relies too heavily on its source material.

Evelyn Preuss

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 22 December 1982)



■ MODERN LIVING

Holidays for the disabled must not be taboo

An organisation for the disabled that has just published an international travel guide for the handicapped is critical of facilities in Germany.

Package tours for the disabled are no longer taboo in the tourist trade, but tour organisers and travel agents don't go out of their way to help.

Were it not for clubs and associations for the disabled occasionally pointing out the problems of, say, the wheelchair-bound they would long have been forgotten.

The travel trade is willing to help in individual instances but in the glossy brochures listing tours for children, old folk, singles and what have you the disabled never get a mention.

Holiday resorts are reluctant to own up to providing facilities for the disabled. They are usually worried, although few would admit it, that ordinary people might be put off.

Those who concern themselves with travel for the disabled soon feel a sense of resignation. There is next to no information and still less understanding.

It is not that there is no goodwill, but people who might be prepared to help don't even know how wide a wheelchair is and have no idea of the practical problems.

Organisations that lend a helping hand aim to integrate the disabled in the ordinary holiday world, but they are going to have their work cut out.

Take air or rail travel. Airport facilities are often praised but the Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, comes in for criticism.

There have been endless suggestions and declarations of intent, but the fact remains that Bundesbahn trains are ill-suited for the needs of wheelchair-users.

In the travel trade a number of organisers cater for the disabled. The exception not the rule, they are Touristik Union International, the DER agency in Karlsruhe, Jahn-Reisen in Munich and a handful of small fry.

The Mainz organisation that publishes the travel guide for the disabled would like to see the disabled looked on as just another category of holidaymakers.

One of its demands is for travel brochures to include the wheelchair symbol to indicate accommodation and travel facilities suitable for use by the disabled.

ADAC, the Munich-based motoring club, which runs a travel agency, sets a good example in this respect.

There is a heavy demand for hire cars equipped for use by the disabled, but they are only available in Israel and the United States, the guide says.

Yet last year alone Lufthansa for one had 5,000 wheelchair passengers.

The international travel guide for the disabled lists over 2,000 addresses in 80-odd countries. The handicapped are as keen as anyone to see the world.

A travel agency in Switzerland has just run its third package tour to China including facilities for the disabled.

Much-travelled wheelchair users report that in the Far East they are often more readily accepted as ordinary people than nearer home.

In Germany a hotel has just been opened in Berlin that is claimed to be the first in Europe to provide suitable facilities for the disabled.

It was built by an association for the war-wounded, has 150 beds and is accessible to wheelchair users from the multi-storey car park to the swimming pool, the medicinal baths and the hotel bar.

But how do "ordinary" holidaymakers feel about the disabled? It is only a couple of years since a Frankfurt court awarded a holidaymaker damages for having had to spend her holidays alongside the mentally handicapped.

Fine words notwithstanding, there is definitely a reluctance on the part of the tourist trade to provide facilities for the disabled as a matter of course.

Holiday organisers are worried that holidaymakers might be put off and decide to go somewhere else instead.

The Mainz organisation says the disabled themselves are stating their case more often and more emphatically than they used to, writing to tourist departments and travel agents to find out what they have to offer.

Breaking down this barrier will probably prove more difficult than providing the technical facilities to make travel less difficult for the disabled.

But it is high time a start was made.

Hans Bensmann

(Rheinische Post, 24 December 1982)

Hotel for the handicapped in Berlin

The Mondial on Berlin's Kurfürstendamm is the first hotel in Europe to be designed to meet the requirements of the disabled.

It was built as a pilot project by the Reichsbund, an association for the war-wounded, took four years to build and has just been opened.

As a pilot project it has gained international attention and acclaim because it is the first hotel to cater for the disabled from the cellar to the attic.

There are many homes built to make life easier for them. There are rooms designed for the disabled in large hotels. But this is the first hotel where wheelchair users can get everywhere unaided.

There are no doorsteps, no revolving doors. The lifts are big enough to hold wheelchairs and have mirrors to make it easier for wheelchair users to back out.

The reception is easily reached by wheelchair, regardless whether you arrive by car and come from the hotel's multi-storey car park or come in from the street.

The counter at the reception is so low at one point that wheelchair users don't have to stretch and strain to reach it.

The swimming pool and medicinal baths, the restaurant, bars, conference rooms and toilets are all easily, readily accessible.

Glass doors open when a button is pressed and take their time to shut. There are not just emergency staircases in case of fire but also emergency lifts with ample room for wheelchairs.

Yet the Mondial is not just a hotel for the disabled. At first glance it looks like any other first-rate hotel, and the Reichsbund was keen to make it a hotel where the disabled and the healthy could meet and mix on equal terms.

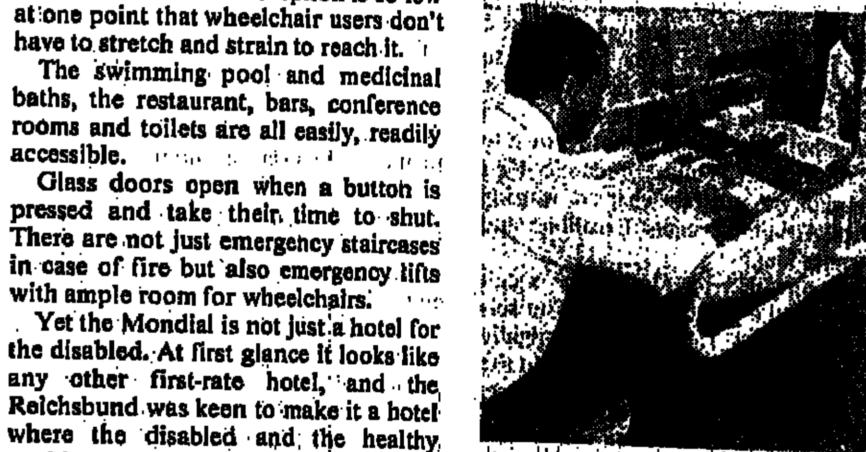
The architect, Heinz Ostmann, took great care to make the special facilities for the disabled match the hotel's interior decorating and ensure that it didn't give the place an institutional look.

The Mondial has 75 rooms and beds for 150. Only a third are fully equipped to cater for the disabled; the hotel is not intended to cater solely for them.

The decorating is elegant and modern and the 24 specially equipped rooms are half as large again as conventional hotel bedrooms to ensure the wheelchair-bound a full turning circle.

The disabled guest can wheel himself into position with his knees under the desk. The room door can be opened by pressing a bedside button.

The clothing cupboards have an automatic device to lower the hangers to where the disabled can get at their clothes. They can thus hang their clothes up without difficulty.



Bathroom at the Hotel Mondial (Photo: dpa)

The bathrooms all have sliding doors and stops and handles. To take a shower you can either order a shower wheelchair or use a folding seat incorporated in the shower compartment.

The washbasins have enough room underneath for wheelchair users to wheel themselves into a position where they can reach taps and basin.

They can also be lowered into a more suitable position as required. Pushbutton pressure is all that is needed; it is done hydraulically.

And all these extras are incorporated as unobtrusively as possible. Everything possible has been done to avoid an institutional look.

An ordinary person should have no difficulty in using a room for the disabled, while someone slightly disabled should be able to use an ordinary room because it too contains a number of helpful facilities.

There are rooms for the hard of hearing too. They have extra-loud loudspeakers.

The five-storey, 150-bed Kurfürstendamm hotel cost DM75m. The city footed DM7m of the bill, the state lottery DM9.6m.

Running costs will be met by the Reichsbund, which plans to run the hotel at cost as a normal commercial venture.

In off-season periods the organisation can offer cut-price Berlin tours to its 800,000 members. It also offers the disabled inclusive tours with medicinal baths for when their relatives go on holiday.

Renate Marbach

(Kieler Nachrichten, 24 December 1982)

Sculpture f[or] the blind in Würzbur[g]

Johannes' hands gently explo[re the] face of the Apollo statue, his [brow] furrowed with concentration as [he tra]ces every feature.

Comments Johannes: "The e[yes are] slightly protruding; with Greek [sculp]tors, this is a sure sign of a radian[t ...] The edges of the mouth are up[turned] into an obvious smile.

"The curls on the head are thi[ck ...] cascading to the shoulders. Clea[rly the] sculpture shows a young man. [I'd] say around 500 BC."

Johannes, 16, is blind. He att[ends a] vocational school and wants to be[come] a telephone operator.

He is a frequent visitor to the [Sculp]ture Museum for the Blind in [Würz]burg. The only one of its kind i[n Ger]many, it contains 40 sculptures, p[resent]ed to the Rehabilitation Centre [for the] Blind by Munich Rotary Club a[t a cost] of about DM30,000.

Johannes often comes with his [friend] Peter who is also blind and every[bit as] much of a connoisseur.

Feeling a bust of Homer, Peter [gives] a running commentary: "The e[yes are] closed, which means that the s[culptor] wanted to convey that Home[r was] blind."

An elderly woman, not blind, [stand]ing next to Peter elaborates: "M[any ci]vilisations, not only Ancient Gree[ce, de]picted their bards as being blind[. What] they wanted to convey was that t[rue] substance is seen with the [inner] eye."

The idea of having such a m[useum] was born five years ago when ar[chaeo]logist Raimund Wünsche guided [blind] people through Munich's Glyp[tothek,] Germany's largest collection of [...] sculptures.

He was stunned by the enorm[ous in]terest shown by these people, but [realis]ed that the interest was not sup[...] considering sculptures are th[e only] form of visual art the blind are c[apable] of experiencing.

These classical sculptures p[rovide] them with an idea of the image o[f man,] an image that still applies and c[onveys] some of man's significance in th[e uni]verse.

The blind are also capable of [expe]riencing the aesthetic pleasure [and] uplift imparted by perfect beauty.

But Wünsche's guided tours th[rough] the Glyptothek also showed him [where] the shortcomings lay.

Many sculptures stand on [high] pedestals and are beyond the rea[ch of] seeing hands. Others may not be [touch]ed for fear of wearing away the su[rface.]

Moreover, group tours to the [mu]seum proved unsatisfactory be[cause] they did not enable the individu[al visi]tor to stand directly in front o[f a] sculpture and because a blind p[erson] needs a lot of time to absorb an o[bject] by touch.

Comments Wünsche: "The blind [per]son absorbs the sculpture wit[h his] hands the way a reader of a di[fficult] book tries to grasp the text by re[ading] every word slowly and repeating c[ertain] sentences. Ultimately, the memory [...] responds to the effort that went [into] grasping it."

Since blind people find it eas[ier to] understand a sculpture when they [com]pare it with another one, related o[...]

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■ INTEGRATION

Turkish girl in Cologne shows what it's like

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Sema, a teenage Turkish girl, and German teenagers, both boys and girls, sit in the Café La Gondola chatting, giggling and generally having fun.

Then, suddenly, Sema feels threatened. The man sitting at the table next to them is a Turk, and she knows that he will tell her father that he had seen her in the café.

He will say she was behaving in a manner unworthy of a decent Turkish girl. A Turkish girl has no business being seen in public with boys.

This is the first scene of a play entitled *Nein! Hayir!* a group of Cologne teenagers have been rehearsing for the past couple of weeks.

There are eight or nine Turks and an equal number of Germans in the cast, all amateurs, under the guidance of a few professionals.

They first improvised the play before putting it on paper.

The play deals with the classical conflict of a Turkish girl in a major German city. Sema's German is like that of her German schoolfriends. She dresses, acts and thinks the way they do.

But her parents and her older brother disapprove and go out of their way to protect her honour, as they see it.

The idea of the project, subsidised by the Bonn Education Ministry, dates back several years. From 1977 to 1980 Cologne's Free Workshop Theatre taught the city's secondary school students acting and drama.

In the course of this work (which was discontinued for lack of money) the company was constantly made aware of difficulties between Germans and Turks in general and the problems of Turkish girls in particular.

It was then that the idea of bringing young Turks and Germans together in amateur theatricals was born. It was meant as a modest contribution towards defusing the aliens problem.

The professionals soon realised that what is generally dubbed an aliens problem is in fact a German problem.

The first step was to establish a weekly theatre workshop in areas particularly heavily populated by Turks (Cologne has a Turkish population of 80,000).

Young people, both Germans and Turks, gradually started attending with increasing regularity.

While the Turks came from working class parts of the city, the Germans all came from the up-market Montessori *Gymnasium*, or high school, and lived in affluent residential areas.

These German youngsters were open-minded and regarded xenophobia as just plain stupid.

Even so, there were problems. Peter Fischer, the director, found that there were times when the usual prejudices that govern German-Turkish relations were actually reversed.

He discovered that it was the Germans rather than the Turks who were unreliable and tended to show up late for rehearsals while the Turks showed what can only be termed Iron Prussian discipline.

Some of this might be due to the fact that the play eventually became a Turkish story.

Originally the intention was to present a collage of everyday life at a Turkish-German school, and it was not until later that the group decided to relate the story of Sema.

Sema Meray, who plays the lead role, is not a typical Turkish girl. She is a Cologne high-school graduate who has studied art history at Cologne University and now plans to enrol at an acting school.

Sema Meray (right) in a scene from her Cologne play (Photo: Wand)

But her personal experiences are almost identical with those of the character she plays.

Like the fictional Sema, Sema Meray was unable to move in public without every step being reported to her parents.

After taking on the role, Sema told her parents and relatives what the play was about, much to her family's dismay because they were confronted with a bit of reality.

Take this scene. One evening, Sema returns home and learns that her father had been told that she was seen in public with a boy.

Yet all that really happened was a harmless get-together in a café, as shown in the opening scene. The whole thing was blown out of all proportion and her father was told that she had been flirting indecently with a German boy.

In this scene, the audience can hear how the girl gets a thrashing in the next room and her brother is seen leaving home to deal with the German boy who had allegedly dishonoured his sister.

Sema enacted some of the scenes of the play for her mother, causing a great deal of wailing on the part of the mother while an aunt had no comment to make at first.

When she asked her aunt to say something so that anything that was misrepresented in the scene could be corrected, the aunt answered:

"There is nothing to correct; everything is as you showed it. But this must not be shown because by showing it you betray your own people."

The conflicts Sema had to cope with in real life were every bit as serious as those in the play.

Says she: "It isn't as if I did not understand my father; it's simply that it is almost impossible to convey what makes Turkish parents tick."

Sema Meray made a point of escaping the conditions that are taken as part and parcel of a Turkish girl's life. The Sema of the play ultimately does the same.

The clash comes when her father thinks that the only way of saving his daughter is to marry her off to another Turk as soon as possible.

The right man is found, and when Sema's mother wants to formalise the engagement the girl digs in her heels and says *Nein!*, adding the Turkish equivalent *Hayir!* for good measure.

Sema Meray opted out of her Turkish environment by taking on German citizenship.

Gerd Kröncke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 January 1983)

Dressage

Continued from page 11

heartbeats are heard in the microphone.

The Wuppertal Ballet is 10 years old. What may appear conciliatory has lost none of its aggression.

Pina Bausch's obsession with investigating education and society to find the truth in the feelings of the individual has by no means been exhausted.

But after every new work of hers one can't help wondering what the next one will be like. The patterns are always the same.

There are children's game, biographical details supplied by the dancers, an abundance of wonderful images, marvellous mime, outbreaks and superb, often superbly comical ring dancing.

It is all twofold in meaning because the latent threat is always there and wounds are laid bare.

Not everything is equally successful. The second half of *Premiere* loses momentum because many points have been made to excess.

Frau Bausch works at her work until the last minute and continually reworks and changes it; she has clearly not yet found the ideal solution here.

The consistently experimental state of her work is not a ploy; it is an important feature of it. It is as imperfect and seemingly meaningless as life itself. But Pina Bausch makes a stage out of life.

Eva-Elisabeth Fischer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 January 1983)

Sculpture

Continued from page 12

in the new museum have been placed next to each other to enable the blind to feel one figure with the left hand and the other with the right.

Busts are favourites with the blind and therefore account for the majority of the 40 sculptures in Würzburg.

Studying the faces of important personalities in history leads to understanding. There is, for instance, the bulbous face of Socrates, who told people to understand themselves.

Next to him there is the bust of Euripides with the lean, narrow nose — the very opposite of Socrates.

And then there are the characteristic busts of Roman emperors, the long, lean face of Augustus next to Caesar, Nero and Caracalla.

The instructional tape recordings also deal with several related objects simultaneously, providing background information. Incidentally, each sculpture is labelled with a plaque in Braille.

Another departure from normal museum practice is that recording the taped information for private use is not only permitted but in fact encouraged.

Where sculptures of nudes are concerned, the visitors are encouraged to imitate the pose with their own bodies. This helps them understand the deeper meaning of a given pose.

Apollo of Tenea, for instance, stands there with all his muscles taut, the hands clenched into firsts and the legs kept close together.

Not so the neighbouring statue depicting a boy by Polycletus. The boy's pose is that of playfulness, the weight resting on the slightly advanced left leg. One arm is lifted casually and the head inclined pensively.

The spontaneity and gaiety of this ancient statuary is as irresistible today as it was 2,500 years ago.

The objects on display are naturally replicas of originals to be found in major European museums in Athens, Rome, Naples, Copenhagen, Berlin, Munich, etc.

It took a great deal of imagination to assemble sculptures that are particularly suited to convey their essence to the sensitive fingers of the blind.

Plaster of Paris replicas were found to be too light and incapable of conveying the unyielding hardness of marble.

Plastic replicas are durable, easy to transport and pleasant to look at; but their consistency when "seen" with the hands is off-putting.

One blind visitor described their effect as similar to the noise made by chalk on a blackboard.

All this prompted Raimund Wünsche to opt for replicas made from crushed marble, using chemical resin as a binding agent.

This provides a surface similar to antique marble sculptures. As for bronze sculptures, the problem doesn't arise. The replicas are cast in bronze.

Anneliese Steinhoff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 26 December 1982)

■ CRIME

High drama at sea as hired hand kills yacht's skipper and girlfriend

Paul Termann was given a life sentence in Bremen on two counts of murder. Doris Permin, his girlfriend, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment as his accomplice. This is the tale of a most unusual murder trial told just before the sentences were passed.

Everything seemed to be meshing just perfectly. Herbert Klein, 35, a retired freight forwarder from Krefeld, owned the handsome yawl *Apollonia*.

He lacked a crew and knew little about sailing, but engine driver Paul Termann, 42, also retired, was an old salt and had no boat.

Both were stranded in Pasito Blanco, on Gran Canaria, and both had their girlfriends with them: Gabi Humpert, 24, and Doris Permin, 36.

Since they found themselves in the same predicament, they became friends.

Termann and his girlfriend Doris moved aboard Apollonia while owner Klein went to Konstanz where he found paying guests to accompany them on the planned voyage to the West Indies.

They were 25-year-old Michael Wunsch, who had just graduated in business studies and wanted to take it easy for a while before embarking on a career, and his friend Dieter Giesen, 30, an innkeeper who wanted to see a bit of the world.

The crew was thus complete and the easy life in the West Indies within grasp.

But only a few days after casting off, the initial euphoria blew over, turning into enmity and, ultimately, deadly hatred.

Since 2 November 1982 Paul Termann has been on trial in Bremen. He is charged with murder attempted murder. Doris Permin has been charged as an accessory to murder. The sentences are due soon.

The drama that unfolded in the court is unique in Germany's legal history inasmuch as it arose from an overestimation of one man's capabilities in a situation that could not have arisen ashore.

Trifling incidents led to aggressiveness; rage to criminal action.

One expert testifying in court said that conditions at sea could easily change personality traits or reveal a person's true character.

Herbert Klein was a happy-go-lucky person though all he still possessed was his *Apollonia*.

He bought the yawl (formerly the *Wappen von Bremen*) in summer 1981 for DM180,000, spending another DM100,000 to have her refitted for a charter business in the West Indies.

He intended to run the business with girlfriend Gabi once his divorce from wife Birgit came throught.

But if old seamen's lore is anything to go by, trouble started when he renamed the yacht *Apollonia*, for a change of a ship's names spells disaster.

In any event, a Munich charter agency refused him a contract, insisting that the yacht be taken to the West Indies first.

The voyage itself would have been no problem for the *Apollonia*, a 16.54-metre vessel spreading 120 square metres of sail and a veteran of 12 Atlantic crossings, covering a total of more than 250,000 nautical miles.

Klein was understandably proud of his ship and insisted on being the captain, assigning to Termann the job of navigator only.

Termann, a former Bundeswehr NCO described in his personnel file as "a bit of a show-off," on the other hand refused to take orders from somebody who "didn't know a bowline from a rolling hitch."

A psychologist who was asked to evaluate Termann's personality testified in court, describing him as a "neurotic schoolmaster type."

Termann was driven day and night by an irresistible desire to prove his superiority to Klein.

Whenever he felt like it, he got the skipper out of his bunk to dress him down for his ineptitude with knots — in front of everybody.

Granted, a wrongly tied knot could spell disaster at sea; but there was no danger in the offing in this case.

The psychologist concluded from this that Termann had a pathological obsession with safety.

But knots were not the only thing Termann found amiss with his skipper. He blamed him for having been at sea for some time after leaving the Canaries without a single man-overboard drill and without having instructed his crew in the use of the Very pistol for distress flares, not to mention that nobody knew how to inflate the life-raft in an emergency.

"I got so worked up over it that I couldn't sleep any more," Termann told the court.

Instead of the usual 10 minutes, Termann at one point took four hours to fix the ship's position, following this up by ordering the sails to be shortened.

Wunsch and Klein didn't give it much thought, assuming that the idea was to make it easier to handle the boat short-handed.

Nightfall that day found Termann still poring over the chart table. It was at that point that Klein took a pump handle and dealt Termann four blows on the head.

Termann's lawyer was later to argue in court that "nobody has to permit himself to be clobbered to death even if it was he who provoked the situation in the first place."

Still conscious, the victim of the attack reached for the pistol in front of him on the chart table, firing blindly into the cockpit and unintentionally hitting Wunsch, who collapsed with a bullet in his lung.

Termann continued firing, hitting Gabi Humpert in the head and killing her instantly.

Dieter Giesen, in shock by that time, crouched on the cabin floor, weeping.

It was at this point that Doris Permin took a torch to go and look for Klein, finding him on the foredeck, still toting the pump handle.

"There he is!" she called out, words the prosecutor later interpreted as making her an accessory to murder (which is punishable by five years' imprisonment).

Termann ran up the companion steps shouting: "Come here, Herbert, and see what happened to your girlfriend!"

Klein, still confused, did as he[…] told. Termann shot him and Klein[…] overboard. The body of his girlf[…] was also thrown overboard and al[…] ces of the preceding shooting wer[…] moved. Termann was as pedant[…] ever.

Before the drama aboard the *Ap[…] nia*, Termann had been increasingl[…] diculed by Gabi Humpert, Giesen[…] Wunsch, making him only the mo[…] secure.

The only one to look up to him[…] his girlfriend Doris. They have[…] thing in common, their love of[…] Diamond and Elvis Presley.

Termann later told the "[…] "When you spend the whole day l[…] ing to reggae you just go around[…] bend," hoping to explain his mo[…] aggressiveness.

There came a time when Term[…] and Klein only yelled at each other[…] when celebrating the point of no r[…] the crew drank their champagne[…] out Termann, which was most hum[…] ing for him.

And then the skipper told him th[…] would not give a written testimon[…] his navigational ability and se[…] something Termann desperately ne[…] if he was to get a job aboard one o[…] charter boats or eventually buy his[…] yacht for chartering.

Termann was now worried abou[…] future and so was his girlfriend Do[…]

The court was unable to fully d[…] mine what happened later — prim[…] because the *Apollonia* was moor[…] Barbados and inaccessible to the[…] men court.

Moreover, there was no similar y[…] available in Germany that could[…] served as a substitute — but he[…] what could have happened:

On December 13, 1981 (a Sunday[…] days out at sea, during which[…] *Apollonia* easily weathered a gal[…] was Gabi's turn to fix breakfast[…] which she did, but not for Termann[…] Doris because the two were still asle[…]

When Termann and his girlfr[…] later complained about this to Kl[…] the answer was: "You can fix your[…] breakfast in future … and in any e[…] you'll be disembarking at the next[…] of call."

At that time, the yacht was some[…] miles off Barbados.

It was here that Termann forced[…] skipper at gunpoint to give him[…] blank signatures which he could us[…] the testimonials he so despera[…] needed.

He later used one of these sig[…] sheets of paper to turn it into an I[…] for DM25,000, which he claimed fr[…] Klein's widow.

Gun in hand, he would strut aro[…] the deck shouting: "I'm in comm[…] here!" and threatening to shoot Kl[…] and Gabi.

Attempts to mollify him were u[…] vailing, and Doris backed him, tel[…] the others: "Paul knows what h[…] doing." Paul Termann, in his t[…] added: "I've made up my mind and[…] see it through."

The two victims begged him to[…] them leave the yacht in the life-raft[…] which Termann replied with an ulti[…] tum: "You have ten minutes time f[…] cigarette." Gabi Humpert begged[…] her life on her knees.

Before reaching Barbados, the[…] men from Konstanz still had to sp[…] four full days on board. Wunsch[…] not recover from his wound, but[…] condition did not deteriorate either.

Giesen, whom Termann still need[…] was too frightened to resist. He t[…] newsmen: "I was almost wetting my[…]

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Hanover counsel commits suicide after joint; widow sues state

On 24 April 1973 a Hanover public prosecutor committed suicide only days after taking part in a drug experiment organised by the Information Centre for Drug Problems and held in the conference room of the State Criminal Investigation Department.

The affair, hushed up at the time, was recently dealt with by a Celle court because the prosecutor's widow was denied pension benefits on the grounds that her husband had committed suicide.

In support of her lawsuit she contended that her husband's suicide was an accident in the line of duty, which the Lower Saxony Ministry of Justice denied.

The focal point of the court proceedings was the description by a public prosecutor (who had taken part in the experiment along with a number of judges, criminologists, educationalists and psychologists) of what actually happened at the time.

Said he: "Like at a board meeting, we — the guinea pigs — all sat around a U-shaped table while observers formed an outer circle around us."

He told the court that the first joint was rolled by the director of the State CID chemical analysis department and that it contained 0.5 grams of hashish.

The decor in the conference room was fitting for the occasion. The clock was decorated with colourful lights and suspended women's breasts plus some piratical-looking faces.

The public prosecutor dragged deeply on his reefer, and when he found that this had no effect, he reached for a second and later a third joint.

About 15 minutes later, his pulse became irregular, his pupils were dilated and he collapsed. But the doctors who were present looked after him.

He was taken to hospital and released 24 hours later, when he put his experience with hashish on paper.

He wrote: "Everything in me was compressed; I was depersonalised to the point there I actually stepped out of myself." A few days later, he shot himself in his bedroom.

A court-appointed expert told the court that "flashbacks" resulting from drugs can occur several days after the actual drug consumption and that this effect could be heightened by alcohol.

This was enough to prompt the Justice Ministry to seek an out-of-court arrangement and offer the widow a settlement.

Josef Schmidt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 December 1982)

OUR WORLD

Sales rep takes six months' paid leave to look after disabled person

Rank Xerox staff in Germany are encouraged to take time off work to look after others, for up to six months on full pay.

Two dozen men and women are currently doing social work. One is Sylvia Schmirgel-Preuss, 32, a sales executive who is looking after a 48-year-old wheelchair-bound spastic in Kassel.

She shares the job, at the home of a Kassel clergyman where they all live, with a conscientious objector who is doing social work in lieu of military service.

Karl Kiene, the cripple, has been living in Rev. Buss's home for the past eight years and Jochen Weigandt is rooming there for the duration of his civilian service.

Frau Preuss, an elegant woman with all the attributes of a go-getter in the tough world of salesmanship, has undertaken to look after spastic Karl Kiene for six months, devoting up to 12 hours a day to him when necessary.

What would make a woman who looks like anything but the motherly comforter of the sick exchange the corporate ladder for the life of a Samaritan, if only temporarily?

The whole thing goes back to an initiative on the part of her employer.

Rank Xerox has launched an unprecedented drive in the Federal Republic of Germany in which staff are given six months leave on full pay if they wish to devote themselves to social work of one kind or another.

Says Willi Böcker of the company's Düsseldorf head office: "We are aware of our social obligations, especially towards groups on the periphery of our affluent way of life, and we try to discharge this obligation.

"This goes far beyond lip service and mellifluous verbiage.

"Like most other companies, we could shirk taking an active hand in social work by making out an annual cheque to some charitable organisation. But that would have been the easy way out.

"Instead, we prefer to give our staff time off in which they can actively help others. Naturally, this causes staff bottlenecks, but we try to get along as best we can."

Those who want to accept the company's offer need not worry that it will be held against them. On the contrary. The management keeps urging the staff to accept the offer.

In a recent memo circulated among the staff, Willi Böcker wrote: "Especially in today's economic uncertainty, people are more dependent on outside help than ever before.

"As the number of jobless rises, so does the number of those who depend on the help and sympathy of people who have a job and financial security."

After a few words about the fact that jobs at Rank Xerox are safe, the memo goes on: "I would therefore be delighted if at least some of our staff were prepared to offer their help where it is needed most."

Sylvia Schmirgel-Preuss was among those who accepted the offer, though it was not a spontaneous decision made from one minute to the next.

Says she: "I wanted more than to just pay for the keep of some Third World child. What I wanted was to become personally involved, and that's how I came to look after Karl."

Just seeing Sylvia and Karl next to each other and looking at each other, you know that a deep bond has been forged that goes far beyond a six-month stint of social work.

"Had I opted to work in some institution for the disabled, I would at best have been offered the job of a kitchen helper," says she.

Once she had decided to help an individual rather than work for an institution, a Church organisation in Berlin (incidentally, one of Sylvia's customers) put her in touch with Rev. Buss and Karl Kiene.

Far from committing herself on the spot, Sylvia decided to first pay a visit to the minister and his charge in Kassel. But it took her only a few minutes to decide that she had found what she was looking for.

She freely admits, however, that she was a bit frightened of the task she had taken upon herself, especially once it came to the crunch and she had to pack her bags in Berlin.

Rev. Buss, who is deeply involved in a drive to place the severely disabled with families rather than have them institutionalised, was delighted to get Sylvia, whom he regards as a windfall.

Says he: "Non-professionals see a lot more than professional social workers — quite apart from their deep personal commitment."

Asked about what Sylvia really does for Karl when it comes down to brass tacks, Rev. Buss first told me what she does not do: "She doesn't do actual nursing. That's done by Jochen, our conscientious objector."

Sylvia Schmirgel-Preuss

(Photo: private)

But what Sylvia does do is every bit as important: She talks with Karl, goes with him to various authorities, accompanies him on visits to friends and a nearby family where he lived before he came to Rev. Buss.

She is also there when the minister attends official discussions on his project, in which she has become deeply involved.

Asked what would happen once her six months are over and she has to return to her job, Sylvia answered with a single word: "Sadness."

But she quickly added: "The whole thing won't just be over for me. I'll stay in touch with Karl. After all, there are such things as a telephone and a car."

The Rank Xerox offer was accepted by 23 other staff members.

They now work as ambulance drivers, they accompany severely disabled children to rehabilitation centres or work on the night shift of the telephone counselling service.

But most, like Sylvia Schmirgel-Preuss, personally look after disabled individuals.

Some of them were unable to sustain it for the whole six months and threw in the towel half-way through.

When returning prematurely from their six-month Samaritan leave, they don't have to account for their action but are simply welcomed back.

But whether they throw in the towel or not, they are all changed on their return.

Says Sylvia: "I now see many things in a different light. It hasn't been easy; but I'm glad to be doing it, and I'll be sad when it ends."

Reinhard Voss

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 January 1983)

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with fear." And right he was to be frightened.

Termann told the two passengers to tell the Barbados police that Klein and Gabi went overboard in a raging storm. He said that if they did not do as they were told he would find them any time and, besides, "I can get a hired gun in France for a hundred marks."

The Barbados police were told the accident story; and though they did not believe it, they had no proof to the contrary.

Peter Lehmann, the German consul in Bridgetown, Barbados, and an avid yachtsman himself, inspected the yacht's logbook and found that four pages had been doctored and that the weather conditions noted in the logbook were false.

Another yachtsman who on the day of the alleged storm (when Klein and Gabi were supposed to have been washed overboard) was only 120 miles away from the *Apollonia* said that the weather at the time was nice and the sea calm. This was later confirmed by a satellite photograph.

Wunsch (who was taken to the intensive care ward at the Barbados hospital) and Giesen (who was in police custody) were afraid to tell the true story.

It was not until they returned to Konstanz in late January 1982 that they told the story to a lawyer who informed the public prosecutor in Bremen, *Apollonia's* home port.

An arrest warrant was issued for Termann, who had also returned home.

It was not until his final statement that Termann said he was sorry for what had happened and threw himself on the mercy of the court, "if that is possible."

Gerd Sowein

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 December 1982)